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Photography and illustration

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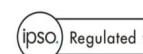
Printed by Wyndeham Peterborough, Storey's Bar Road, Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, PE1 5YS

Distributed by Marketforce, 5 Churchill Place, Canary Wharf, London, E14 5HU www.marketforce.co.uk Tel: 0203 787 9001
ISSN 2052-5870

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Welcome

I believe my interest in Japanese history dates back to my teenage years and most likely began with the art. It's possible that my entryway here was actually Japanese comics (or manga) and that somewhere from that I learnt about woodblock prints and the long history of that form. The images are so vibrant and expressive – it's a truly captivating art form. And from there I dug deeper, learning about Japanese traditions, customs and key events, watching a lot of samurai movies and delving into those legends. Like so much history, scratching the surface tends to reveal how many misconceptions and misunderstandings you have and I often feel that way with Japanese history.

I was delighted to have the help of Dr Nyri Bakkalian to talk us through the important military traditions of Japan and most especially the rise of the samurai class as the most powerful

in the country. Behind their iconic armour and stoic philosophies is a tumultuous past that's well worth investigating. Elsewhere we celebrate pioneers of the LGBT+ movement with a number of experts, learn how civilisations can disappear with Philip Matyszak and make ourselves very hungry learning about the history of chocolate. As you can tell, this is an especially broad and varied issue we're bringing you this month. I hope you enjoy these pieces and the rest.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor



Some of the best examples of samurai cinema come from Japanese director Akira Kurosawa, himself descended from a samurai family

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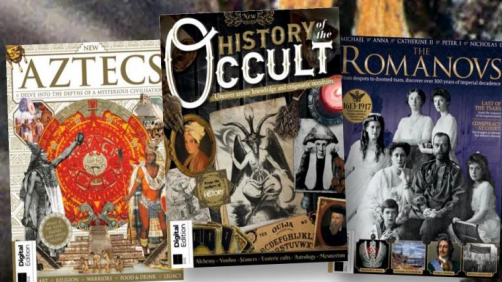
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Secrets Of The Samurai

How these legendary warriors emerged and came to dominate the history and culture of Japan



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Defining Moments





4 July 1914

FUNERAL OF ARCHDUKE FRANZ FERDINAND

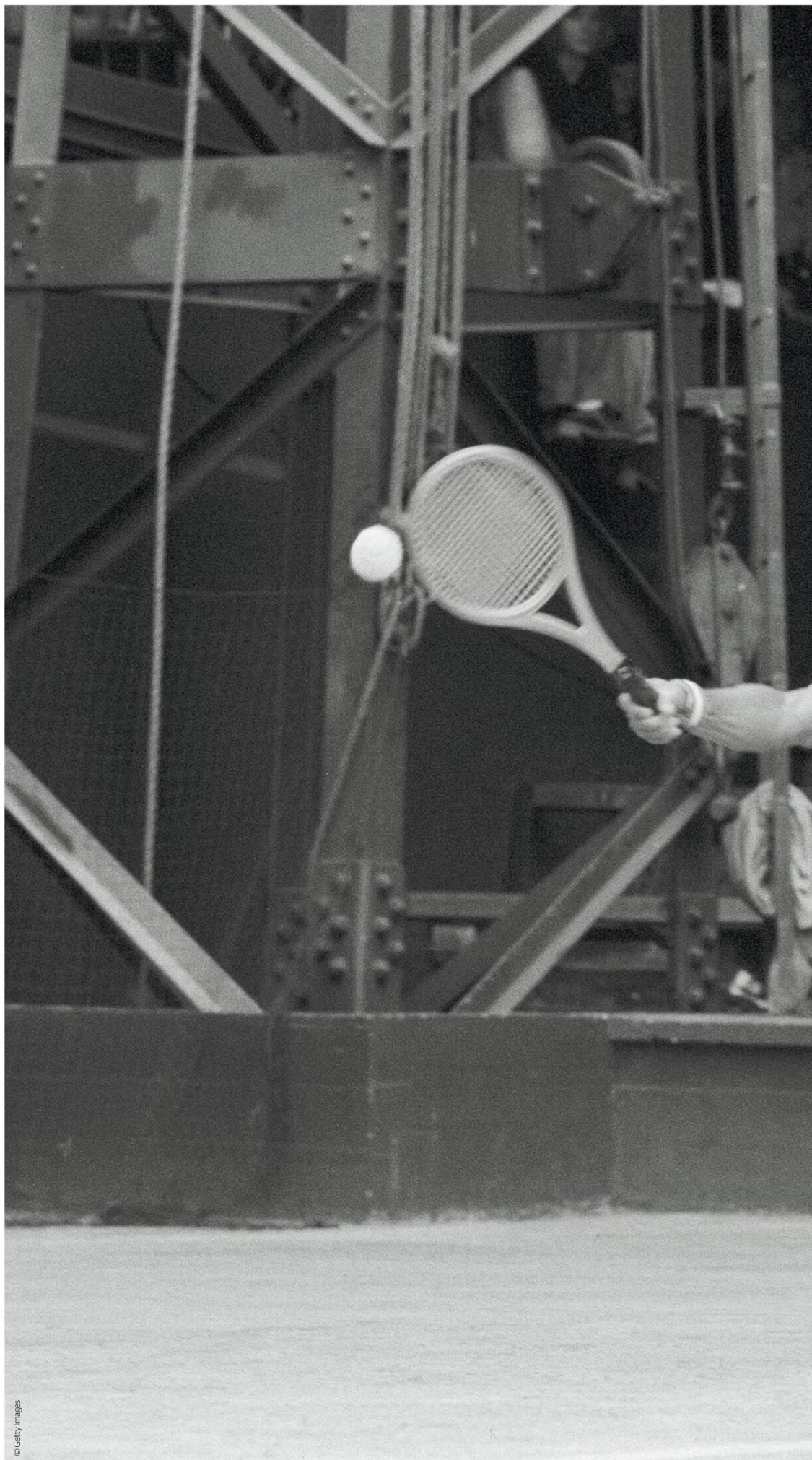
The funeral for Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie was held in Vienna, six days after they were assassinated in Sarajevo by Gavrilo Princip, a young Bosnian Serb and Yugoslav nationalist. Their deaths sparked a series of events that ultimately triggered the outbreak of World War I on 28 July, exactly one month after the assassination took place.

© Getty Images

5 July 1975

ARTHUR ASHE WINS WIMBLEDON

Arthur Ashe became the first black man in history to win the Wimbledon Men's Singles title, defeating Jimmy Connors in the final. Ashe remains the only black man to have won the singles title at Wimbledon, the US Open and the Australian Open. He's pictured here playing in the third round at Wimbledon on his way to the 1975 final.



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ALL ABOUT CHOCOLATE

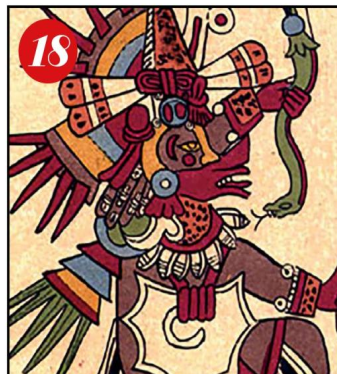
From ancient Mesoamerican culture to the Industrial Revolution, we explore the history of one of the world's most loved confections



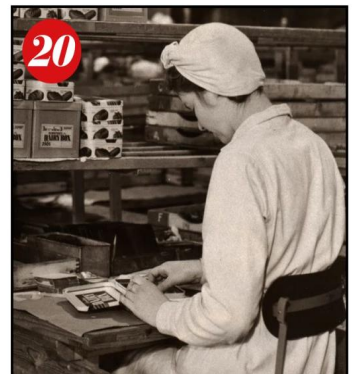
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Written by Jessica Leggett, Callum McKelvie, Jonathan Gordon



CHOCOLATE

History of Chocolate

Did you know?

Sailors would go on to use the slang term 'kye' for the sweet drink they enjoyed. It was made from shavings from a chocolate slab mixed with hot water



Image source: wiki/National Maritime Museum

Chocolate Gale 1825

The Royal Navy becomes Britain's biggest single consumer of chocolate as cocoa is identified as the ideal non-alcoholic, hot beverage for sailors to enjoy when on watch duty. The association is so strong that sailors take to calling cold northwesterly winds 'chocolate gales'.

MAYA ELITES 250 BCE – 900 CE

With cacao bean consumption handed down from one civilisation to another, the Maya continue the culture in Central America. The use of the beans is, however, restricted to the upper echelons of society.

AZTEC TRADE 1200-1500

The Aztecs trade with the Maya and take up the practice of consuming and trading with cacao beans. They become an integral part of their religious ceremonies and economy.



WEDDING GIFT 1643

Spanish princess Maria Theresa gives her future husband Louis XIV a gift of chocolate wrapped inside an ornate chest. Chocolate would go on to become a popular delicacy in Louis' court.



Image source: wiki/dorathum.com

1500 BCE – 250 BCE

THE OLMEC AGE 1500-400 BCE

The first recorded instance of a civilisation using the cacao bean dates back to the Olmecs, the first known culture of Mesoamerica, located around what is now Veracruz and Tabasco. They called the beans kakawa.



Image source: Metropolitan Museum of Art

CORTES PLANTATION 1528

Hernan Cortes establishes a plantation, taking the beans back to Spain along with a recipe for a form of hot chocolate. The beans are processed by monks using a technique known exclusively in Spain for many years.



Image source: wiki/Cronau

1643

CHOCOLATE HOUSES 1657

The Coffee Mill & Tobacco Roll begins selling a chocolate drink in London, kicking off the trend of chocolate houses that served hot cocoa beverages. Due to the expense of chocolate, these were elite clubs.

Did you know?

It's unclear whether Columbus actually tasted cocoa when he encountered it - he even mistook the beans for almonds

Columbus Arrives 1502

It's believed that Christopher Columbus is the first European traveller to encounter cacao beans, noticing how valuable they appear to the locals. He brings some of the beans back with him to Spain to present to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, but they are said to be unimpressed by them and see little value in them.

Image source: Metropolitan Museum of Art

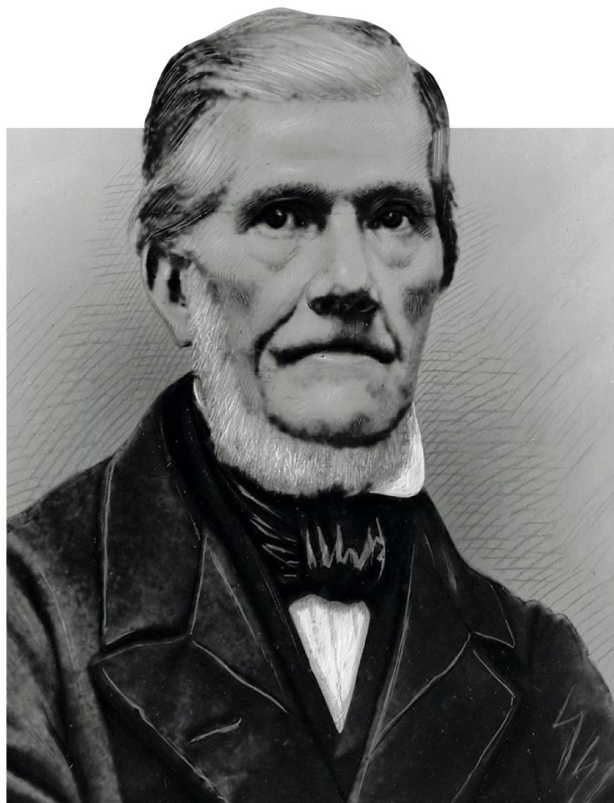
A Latin Name

1753

Swedish botanist and zoologist Carl Linnaeus gives cocoa its official Latin name, *Theobroma Cacao*. *Theobroma* translates as 'food of the gods', which speaks to its reputation at the time as well as some of its cultural legacy as an important item in religious practices in Central America.



Image source: wiki/Franz Eugen Kohler



Dutched Cocoa 1828

Coenraad Johannes van Houten invents a chocolate press that is able to extract the cocoa butter from roasted cocoa beans, which allows for the finest ever cocoa powder to be produced. His new 'dutched' cocoa is much more mixable for making drinks and other chocolate flavoured confections.

Image source: Wiki/National Archive

Deliciously Smooth 1879

Rodolph Lindt of Switzerland invents the conching machine. This new device heats and rolls chocolate, making for the smoothest final product to date. Now chocolate will reliably melt, allowing for creamy fondants to be produced. At first this process takes 72 hours, but today it takes only 12 hours.

Did you know?

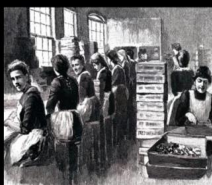
It was thanks to Lindt's new chocolate production technique that Swiss chocolate gained a reputation for quality around the world



© Getty Images

THE FIRST BAR 1847

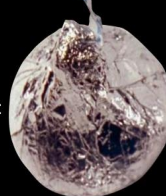
Francis Fry of JS Fry & Sons in England develops the first known chocolate bar by incorporating cocoa butter with the powder to create a moldable paste. Fry's Eating Chocolate is born.



4x © Getty Images

HERSHEYTOWN 1903

Milton S Hershey establishes the town of Hershey in Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, creating one of the first factory towns in the United States. The primary output of the chocolate factory there is Hershey's Kisses.



BOXED SELECTIONS 1913

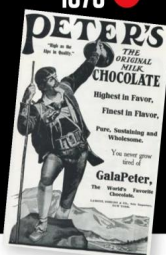
Jules Séchaud creates a new manufacturing process that allows for the filling of chocolate shells, in turn creating the first box selection of filled chocolates.



Image source: Wiki/Flickr

MILK CHOCOLATE 1875

By mixing milk powder developed by baby food manufacturer Henri Nestlé with chocolate powder, Daniel Peter invents milk chocolate after nearly 20 years of development.



A QUEEN'S GIFT 1900

To mark the new year, Queen Victoria sends each of her soldiers fighting the Boer War a tin box containing chocolate. These were apparently paid for by the queen personally.



TOBLERONE 1908

Emil Baumann creates a recipe for milk chocolate with nougat, almonds and honey while his cousin, Theodor Tobler, comes up with a unique triangular shape and packaging for their new Toblerone bar.

By Royal Decree

1854

Cadbury is given a Royal Warrant, making it the sole provider of cocoa and chocolate to Queen Victoria and the royal family, beating out competition from its rivals such as Fry's. The Royal Warrant with Cadbury was brought back by Queen Elizabeth II just over 100 years later in 1955.



© Getty Images



Image source: Wiki/US Army Center of Military History

WWII rations 1939

Chocolate is one of the first foodstuffs rationed in Europe as WWII begins, with only 4oz per person per week allowed in most instances. Meanwhile, three billion US military chocolate bars, called D rations, are manufactured between 1940 and 1945 for soldiers. While not essential food, they boost morale.



CHOCOLATE HOUSE

LONDON, C.1650-1800

Occupying a similar position to the coffee houses of the same period, chocolate houses were the haunts of the elite and upper classes. The first of these establishments opened in 1657 but was soon followed by a number of others, some of the most famous being The Cocoa Tree and Ozinda's. Like the aforementioned coffee houses, they became a hotbed of discourse and political debate.

Chocolate was not the only drink available and members could also purchase drinks such as coffee, tea and cock ale (ale with pieces of fowl, fruit and spices). However, for many the draw was the expensive and exotic beverage from which the houses took their name. The chocolate served at these establishments was also an entirely different incarnation to today's powder- and milk-based varieties. One early variation in particular featured cocoa brewed with citrus peel, jasmine, vanilla, musk and ambergris.

However, the chocolate houses soon acquired a more nefarious reputation as dens of vice and inequity where the elite upper classes whiled away the hours. A prime example of this is a story that emerged concerning perhaps the most infamous of these: White's Chocolate House. In 1750 a man suddenly had a seizure and was carried inside the club. Instead of immediately providing assistance, the members proceeded to bet on whether he would live or die.

Today, many of these houses have continued their unique position, transforming into exclusive gentlemen's clubs. The aforementioned White's is considered the oldest of these and also the most exclusive, beginning life as Mrs White's Chocolate House in 1693. Today, the club's members include Prince Charles and Tom Stacey. Controversially, the club still maintains its men-only policy and in 2018 was infiltrated by a protest group calling themselves Women in Whites, who were able to gain entry after disguising themselves as men.

Sweet service

The hot chocolate served here was far richer and much sweeter than today's variants. It could contain cinnamon, cloves and pistachios, among other ingredients, and was very expensive, usually around 10-15 shillings a pound (roughly £45-50). Numerous variants existed and people experimented with different herbs and spices.

Art attack

Doubtless the walls of many of these establishments would have been adorned with paintings and sketches. However, one would become immortalised in one of the most famous series of paintings and engravings of all time when William Hogarth set the gambling sequence from his *A Rake's Progress* series in none other than White's Chocolate House.

Drinking in style

Due to the exotic and expensive nature of hot chocolate, serving pots were usually made from silver or porcelain – two materials that signified wealth and prosperity at the time. Across Europe the designs differed, and Vienna in particular became known as one of the centres of the chocolate craze – not only through its rich recipes but also its unique and elegant pots. Germany, meanwhile, developed chinoserie – a series of Chinese-inspired designs.

Place your bets

Chocolate houses were infamous gambling dens and most contained a table where games such as hazard were popular. However, gambling was not limited simply to games, and White's Betting Book has become legendary for its outlandish wagers. Some examples of these include who would Lord Byron marry, which newspaper editor would be imprisoned for libel, and who would outlive whom.



Let there be light

During this period sconces were usually made of brass or silver and were therefore another symbol of wealth. These would have held candles to provide extra lighting around the room, and as the houses progressed into the 18th century, some may have featured porcelain or ormolu (a technique that involves applying ground high-carat gold-mercury to bronze).

Pricey panes

We can tell from contemporary paintings and illustrations that many of these establishments had large glass windows. This was a sign of great wealth as glass at this time was mostly imported and therefore extremely expensive. This would become particularly so through the 18th century after the Window Tax was introduced in 1696. This tax was based on the number of windows in a property and so they became increasingly a sign of wealth.

Rich furnishings

The chocolate houses were elite establishments, decorated with the finest furniture that money could buy. It's no coincidence that White's is located in St James's Street, and even King Charles II became a frequenter of Ozinda's, another house on the same road. The Cocoa Tree in Pall Mall was at one point the unofficial headquarters of the Tory party.

Some like it hot

Many of these establishments had large fireplaces to provide warmth and illumination. However, fire seems to have played a large part in the mythology as its debauched nature would earn White's in particular the nickname of 'the most fashionable hell in London'. In fact, White's burned down in 1773, before being rebuilt, and others such as The Cocoa Tree suffered similar fates.

Roll with it

Mentioned in Geoffrey Chaucer's 14th century *The Canterbury Tales*, hazard is an early English dice game which became very popular in chocolate houses. It reached its height of popularity in the 17th and 18th centuries and was played in many of the popular establishments. Hazard has very complicated rules and this may have resulted in the game continuing in a simplified form as craps.

A bloody mess

During this period chocolate houses were the haunts of a particularly rowdy type of young men who became known as 'bloods'. Infamous for their raucous drinking habits and sometimes violent temperament, it was no wonder things could get out of hand. One night at the Royal Chocolate House a disagreement regarding the results of a game of hazard led to swords being drawn and three men suffering mortal wounds.



CHOCOLATE



A CACAO FARMER

SOUTH AMERICA,
19TH CENTURY

CHOPPING DOWN

The key tool for harvesting the pods from a cocoa tree is a long staff like this one with a flat blade on the end. Since cocoa pods ripen at different rates, mechanisation of this process isn't possible and clipping pods off the tree remains the method used today, as are many of the other techniques. The blade might also have a small spur to get behind the pod stem and chop it from behind.

READY TO SHIP

After the long process of fermenting and drying is complete the finished beans are packed into sacks ready to be shipped off for industrial production, where they are roasted, turned into a liquor and mixed with other ingredients before being transferred into moulds (a new invention for the process during the industrial revolution) to become bars of chocolate.

DRY AND FERMENT

Before cocoa beans get anywhere near a factory to be turned into the confection we're familiar with they first need to be fermented and dried. The fermentation process sees the beans shed most of their pulp (they also get really hot) and the drying process releases the last of the moisture, ready for roasting and grinding.

DRESSED FOR HEAT

Since cocoa trees grow in very hot and humid climates most farms run along the Equator, with the first existing in South America. Such conditions mean that farmers have to dress appropriately with hats being necessary, especially in the height of summer, although dense tree growth in some places will also offer some shade.

LIGHT CLOTHING

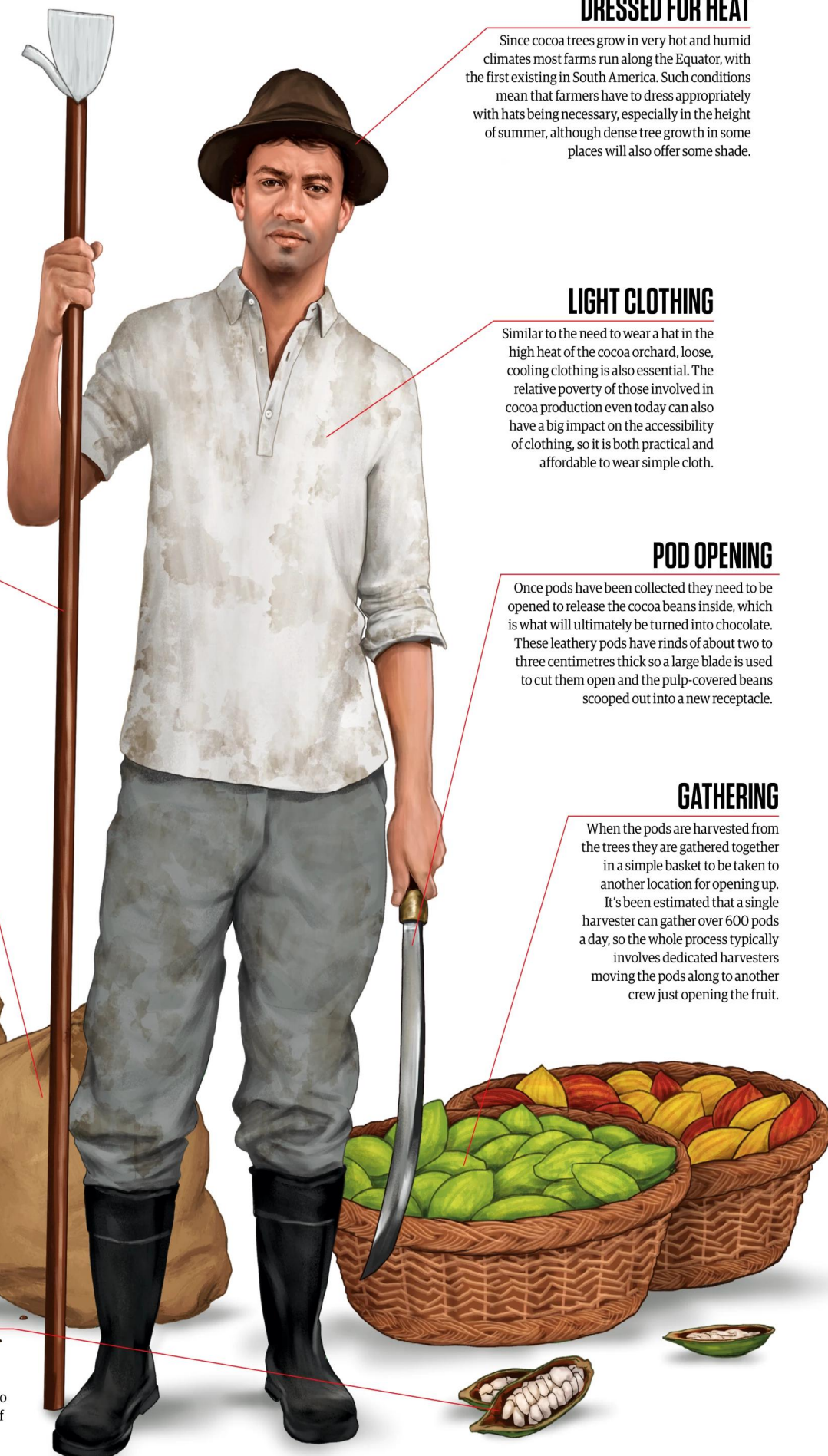
Similar to the need to wear a hat in the high heat of the cocoa orchard, loose, cooling clothing is also essential. The relative poverty of those involved in cocoa production even today can also have a big impact on the accessibility of clothing, so it is both practical and affordable to wear simple cloth.

POD OPENING

Once pods have been collected they need to be opened to release the cocoa beans inside, which is what will ultimately be turned into chocolate. These leathery pods have rinds of about two to three centimetres thick so a large blade is used to cut them open and the pulp-covered beans scooped out into a new receptacle.

GATHERING

When the pods are harvested from the trees they are gathered together in a simple basket to be taken to another location for opening up. It's been estimated that a single harvester can gather over 600 pods a day, so the whole process typically involves dedicated harvesters moving the pods along to another crew just opening the fruit.





CHOCOLATE

Historical Treasures SPOUTED JAR

CONSUMING CACAO GUATEMALA OR MEXICO, MID-1ST CENTURY BCE – 1ST CENTURY CE

The ancient Maya believed that cacao had magical properties and that it was a gift to humans from the god Kukulcan (known as Quetzalcoatl to the Aztecs), a feathered serpent. To consume cacao, they would harvest the beans from the trees before fermenting, drying and grinding them into a paste, which would then be mixed with water, cornmeal and chilli peppers to create a bitter, spicy drink - far different from the sweet chocolate that we are used to today. The mixture was then poured repeatedly from one cup into another until the desired frothy texture was achieved.

This chocolate drink played an integral role in Maya society and was used in official and

religious ceremonies, as well as feasts and rituals surrounding birth, death and marriage, with the bride and groom exchanging the drink as part of the occasion. The Maya even had their own patron deity of cacao, Ek Chuah, and held an annual festival in his honour.

Not only did the Maya believe that cacao had medicinal properties and that the drink promoted good health, but they also utilised it as a form of currency. It subsequently became a sign of wealth and power in the ancient society and demand for cacao was so high that a number of trade routes were opened up across Mesoamerica to supply the population. When the Maya were forced to pay taxes to the Aztecs,

who were conquering their land, they paid with cacao beans and their knowledge of cacao was eventually passed on to their conquerors.

Cacao was a common tribute offering and it was usually buried in the tombs of deceased rulers along with the vessels and equipment needed for the highly prized drink - as cacao was considered to be sacred, the containers that were used for it were regarded as just as important. Jars with a vertical spout were designed specifically for drinking chocolate and they date back to the late first millennium BCE. This particular spouted jar pictured below is currently housed at the Metropolitan Museum Of Art in New York City.

CLEVER DESIGN

The Maya would inject air into the spout of the jar to create a bubbling effect to achieve the signature frothy texture on the top of their chocolate drink.

INTRICATE DECORATION

The jar is adorned with two ornate deities, one with avian characteristics and one that is more human-like, floating in smoky volutes. The neck has a 'sky-band', which is a motif in Mayan art indicating a celestial location.

MYSTERY MESSAGE

The hieroglyphic inscription on the spout contains the dedication of the vessel. It also mentions the name of one of the deities depicted on the jar, but it's not been fully deciphered.

JAR SPECIFICATIONS

Made from indurated limestone, this is a rare example of a spouted jar made from stone - the majority of extant ones are ceramic. This particular jar is 13.7cm high and 15.9cm wide.



Hall of Fame CHOCOLATE PIONEERS

Meet ten figures, from iconic chocolatiers to notable chocoholics, who contributed to the rise of chocolate

MARY DELLUC

BELGIAN PRE-1900s – C.1950s

Opening her first chocolate shop in Brussels in 1919, Delluc focused on the excellence and quality of her handmade chocolates, emphasising them as a luxury product that should be relished. Not only was she the first woman to pioneer Belgian chocolate, but her company, Mary Chocolaterie, was awarded the Royal Warrant by King Leopold II in 1942, becoming one of only four Belgian chocolatiers to receive such an honour.

Today, there are now Mary Chocolaterie shops all around the world, including in Tokyo and Riyadh.



Image source: wiki/The National Library of Medicine

FRANCESCO REDI

ITALIAN 1626-1697

Redi was the head physician to Cosimo III de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who commissioned him to create a chocolate recipe to rival the chocolate produced by the Spanish. Redi developed a chocolate drink made with jasmine flowers that took over ten days to make, and it quickly became popular at the Florentine court. However, the recipe was a closely guarded secret and Cosimo forbade anyone from revealing it, as jasmine chocolate became a symbol of his wealth, power and taste.

EMPEROR MONTEZUMA II

AZTEC C.1466-1520

Famously remembered as the emperor who was imprisoned and killed by the Spanish during their conquest of the Aztec empire, Montezuma was also a well-known chocolate lover. Chocolate was a symbol of power to the Aztecs and it was consumed by the wealthy, although members of the military were among the few commoners allowed to drink it.

Montezuma himself drank copious amounts of it every day and he even demanded cacao as tribute from the people he conquered. When Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés and his men

arrived at Montezuma's court in Tenochtitlan in 1519, the emperor reportedly had 50 jugs of chocolate poured into gold cups for his guests.

Conquistador Bernal Díaz del Castillo claimed more than 2,000 containers of chocolate drink a day were given to the soldiers of Montezuma's palace guard

Image source: wiki/Internet Archive

COENRAAD JOHANNES VAN HOUTEN

DUTCH 1801-1887

Before the 19th century, drinking chocolate was oily and gritty because of the high fat content of cacao beans. In 1828, either Van Houten

or his father, Casparus, patented an industrial-scale screw press that separated the cacao solids from the butter, leaving behind a powder that became known as cocoa. This powder could then be mixed with water to make better drinking chocolate or recombined with the butter to make solid chocolate. While it is debated which man actually invented the press, Van Houten definitely developed the process of 'dutching', which involved treating cacao with alkaline salts to create a smoother, milder flavour and darker colour, thereby revolutionising the production of chocolate.

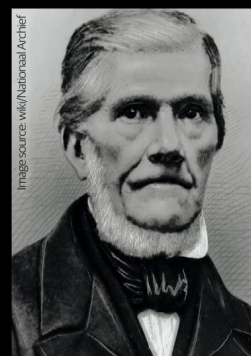


Image source: wiki/National Archief

Van Houten's pioneering work paved the way for the manufacture of the first chocolate bar by JS Fry & Sons in 1847

RODOLPHE LINDT

SWISS 1855-1909

Like many confectioners of the 19th century, Rodolphe Lindt wanted to develop a more palatable chocolate. In 1879, he invented the conching process, which involved stirring and aerating liquid chocolate for hours, even days, to remove bitterness and create a smoother product. He founded his own

chocolate factory in Bern that merged with the Sprüngli chocolate company in 1899, which remains today as one of the world's most famous chocolate brands. Lindt is often cited as one of the pioneers of Swiss chocolate alongside Philippe Suchard, François-Louis Cailler and Daniel Peter.



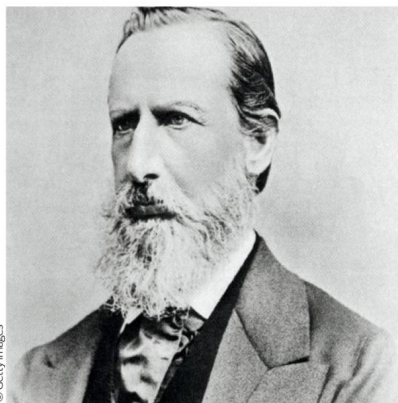
Image source: wiki/swissworld



JOHN CADBURY

ENGLISH 1801-1889

John Cadbury opened his grocer's shop in Bull Street, Birmingham, in 1824, selling tea, coffee and drinking chocolate, which he prepared himself. Seven years later, he decided to open a factory as his interest in cocoa grew and by 1842, Cadbury was selling 16 different varieties of drinking chocolate and 11 different cocoas. In 1846, he became partners with his brother Benjamin and the following year they moved their business to a larger factory. The company received the Royal Warrant from Queen Victoria in 1854 and Cadbury eventually retired in 1861 as his health declined, handing the business over to his sons Richard and George.



HENRI NESTLÉ

GERMAN-SWISS 1814-1890

Starting his career as a pharmacist, Nestlé combined cow's milk, wheat flour and sugar to create a powdered alternative for breast milk in 1867. His creamery was next door to a chocolate factory owned by Swiss confectioner Daniel Peter, who had been attempting to combine cocoa and milk. Peter collaborated with Nestlé and used the latter's condensed milk process to create the first milk chocolate bar in 1875, the same year that Nestlé chose to retire and sell his company. Almost 30 years later, the Nestlé firm joined forces with Peter's chocolate company and began selling chocolate for the first time in America.

MARIA THERESA OF SPAIN

SPANISH 1638-1683

When Maria Theresa, daughter of King Philip IV of Spain, became betrothed to King Louis XIV of France, she sent her new fiancé a decorated chest filled with chocolate as an engagement gift. The king loved it and chocolate subsequently became popular throughout the French court, even though Maria Theresa's aunt and mother-in-law, Anne of Austria, had first introduced it when she married King Louis XIII in 1615. Maria Theresa and Anne were not the only queens of France who loved chocolate, as Marie-Antoinette brought her personal chocolate-maker with her when she married King Louis XVI in 1770.



It wasn't just the French queens who loved chocolate - King Louis XV made his own hot chocolate in his private apartments

QUETZALCOATL

MESOAMERICAN

Quetzalcoatl, a feathered serpent, was one of the most important gods of the ancient Mesoamerican culture. His name is a combination of the Nahuatl words 'quetzal' and 'coatli', which meant colourful bird and serpent respectively. According to the Aztecs, Quetzalcoatl secretly smuggled cacao beans - the food of the gods - and brought them to the humans, teaching them how to cultivate it. Perhaps best known by his Aztec name, Quetzalcoatl was also known as Kukulcan to the Maya and as Ehecatl to the Huastecs.



QUEEN VICTORIA

ENGLISH 1819-1901

During the Boer War, Queen Victoria decided to send tin boxes of chocolate as gifts to her troops serving in South Africa. She chose to hire the three biggest chocolate manufacturers in Britain - Cadbury Brothers, Rowntree and Company and JS Fry & Sons - to make the chocolate, although all three companies chose to donate their payment because of their Quaker beliefs. Each tin was decorated with a portrait medallion of the queen and contained a half-pound of vanilla chocolate.

Queen Victoria famously had a sweet tooth and enjoyed a variety of chocolate treats including cake, ice cream and eclairs

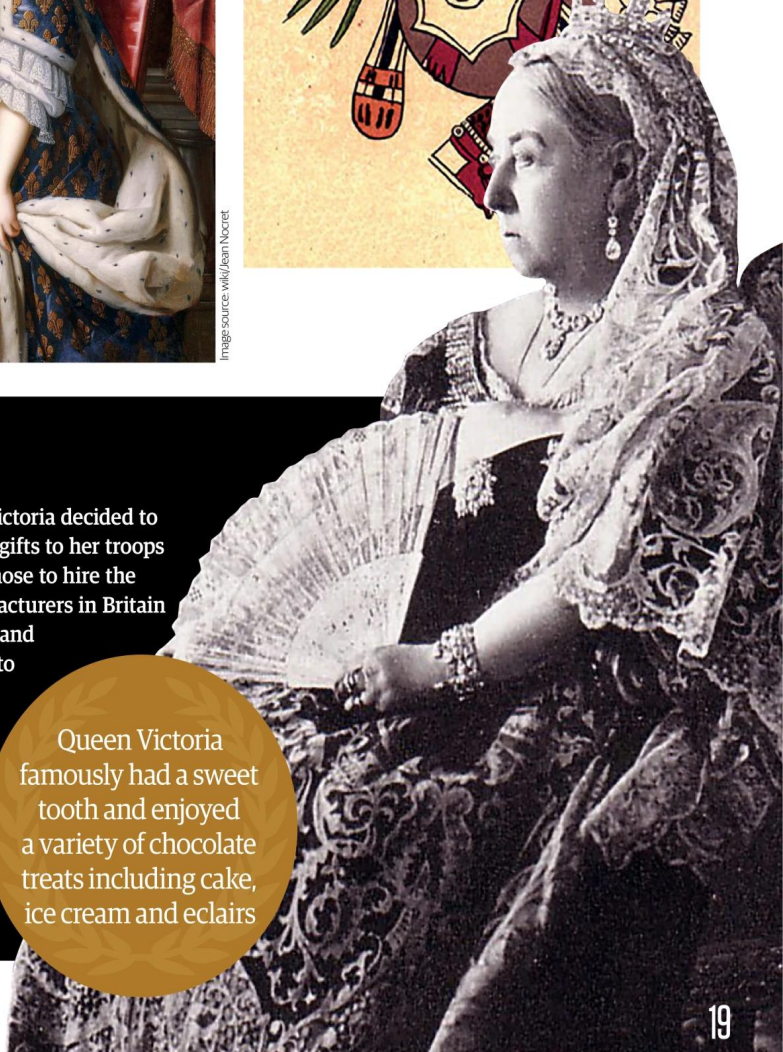


Image source: wiki/National Portrait Gallery

Q&A With...

DR EMMA ROBERTSON

DISCUSSING THE HISTORY OF CHOCOLATE
IN RELATION TO WOMEN AND EMPIRE

A woman packing
Dairy Box chocolates
at the Rowntree's
factory, York, in 1948



Dr Emma Robertson is a social and cultural historian of labour and gender in the context of modern Britain and the British Empire. She is a lecturer at La Trobe University in Melbourne, Australia, and has published numerous works, including *Chocolate, Women And Empire: A Social And Cultural History*.

Q. TELL US WHAT SPARKED YOUR INTEREST IN THE HISTORY OF CHOCOLATE?

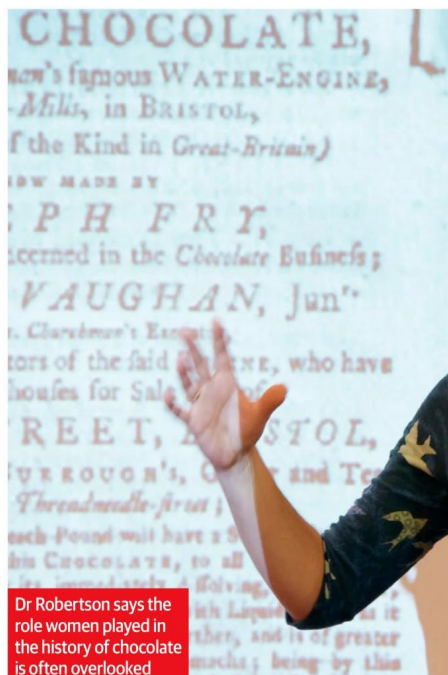
A. Growing up in York, home to the Rowntree's and Terry's confectionery companies, I was surrounded by chocolate. The smell of chocolate often wafted through the air! I knew lots of family and friends who worked at the factories and an early memory is of queueing up to buy so-called 'waste chocolate' outside Rowntree's. My grandmother always had a stash of waste chocolates in her sideboard - KitKats with no wafers were a special prize if you could find them! But as well as the chocolate itself, the confectionery industry had left a broader legacy in York, and this was something that I wanted to know more about. Institutions such as the Joseph Rowntree School, Joseph Rowntree Theatre, Rowntree's Park and the village of New Earswick were all connected to this Quaker-founded company.

Q. HOW HAS CHOCOLATE DEVELOPED SINCE ITS ARRIVAL IN EUROPE DURING THE 16TH CENTURY?

A. One of the key developments in chocolate for Western consumers has been the ability to separate out the fat from the cocoa solids through the invention of the Van Houten press in the 1820s. Before this, when cocoa was prepared for drinking (and it tended to be a drink in the early years) it often had an unpleasant fatty scum on the top. Various ingredients were added to cocoa and eating chocolate to counteract this - not all of them very desirable additives. Once the fat could be extracted to make cocoa butter, it could then be blended back with the cocoa to make a bar. With the addition of milk, we came to have the kinds of milk chocolate bars we're more familiar with today - the most famous British example perhaps being Cadbury's Dairy Milk. British chocolate manufacturers who were able to purchase a Van Houten press in the 19th century began to compete over who had the 'purest' cocoa. These kinds of industrial processing techniques really altered the kinds of chocolate consumed in Europe from the 19th century. It has been interesting to witness the resurgence in artisan-crafted chocolate in recent years, including in my home city of York.

Q. YOUR RESEARCH HAS FOCUSED ON THE BRITISH CHOCOLATE INDUSTRY IN PARTICULAR - IS IT FAIR TO SAY CHOCOLATE LOST ITS ASSOCIATION AS AN IMPERIAL PRODUCT WHILE OTHER THINGS LIKE TEA AND TOBACCO RETAINED THEIR IMPERIAL CONNECTIONS?

A. In terms of marketing, this has sometimes been the case - although tea also became imagined



as a typically 'English' drink divorced from its empire origins (the packaging of Yorkshire Tea is a good example of how this persists). Where early chocolate advertising still capitalised on cocoa as an 'exotic' product, when chocolate became more affordable and factories were able to mass-produce chocolate for a wider audience, it took

on associations of domestic 'British' life. The 1930s Rowntree's advertising campaign for its Plain York chocolate bar, led by 'Plain Mr York, of York, North Yorks' is a good example of this in the first half of the 20th century.

Q. DID CHOCOLATE ADVERTISING REINFORCE CONTEMPORARY IDEAS OF RACE AND GENDER?

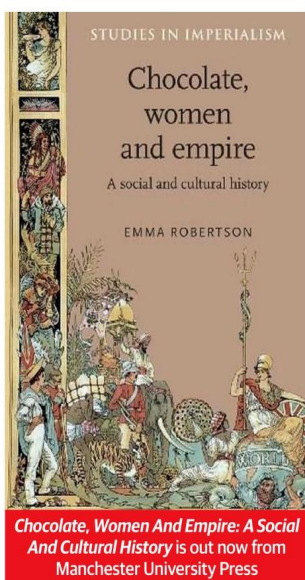
A. In my research I looked mainly at the chocolate advertising of British companies from the late 19th century to the present day. These definitely reflected and reinforced stereotypes of race and gender. However, they also sometimes undercut these, or played around

with them, to try to find new brand identities for particular products. In the late 1940s and 1950s, Rowntree's used images of two black children, each rendered as cartoons, to distinguish their brand of cocoa powder. By contemporary standards, these were positive depictions of black characters in advertising. Chocolate assortments became part of heterosexual courtship in the West - a gift from a man to a woman - and this was often drawn upon in advertising. The marketing of Dairy Box, the Rowntree's milk chocolate assortment, was an interesting example of trends in chocolate

advertising that reinforced certain ideas about white femininity. In the 1960s, a new campaign for this brand drew on the appeal of the young actress, Una Stubbs, to present the assortment as an appropriate gift for a fashionable, modern woman. Advertising for the Rowntree's Black Magic assortment was underpinned by market research that identified dark chocolate as being preferred by middle-class consumers. Black Magic advertising in the 1930s used images of high-society women to create a sense of luxury and prestige. Drinking chocolate, by contrast, was the tool of the thrifty housewife trying to feed her family on a limited budget in the Great Depression.

Q. WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE ROLE OF WOMEN WHO WORKED IN THE CHOCOLATE INDUSTRY?

A. The important role of women in the confectionery factories was something that really inspired me to write my book, thinking especially about the work of many women in my own family that I knew so little about. Around half of the employees at Rowntree & Co were women, with key roles in sorting, decorating and packing chocolates and other sweets. I interviewed my own grandmother and loved hearing the pride in her voice as she spoke about how 'artistic' it was to handpipe the designs onto chocolate assortments. One of my aunts worked for many years in the card box department, producing beautiful speciality chocolate boxes and packaging. I also wanted to go further back in the cocoa commodity chain, to find out how women had been key workers in the farming of cocoa. This took me to Nigeria, where women have long been involved in the farming and harvesting of cocoa beans. Women cocoa farmers have too often been neglected in histories of chocolate, despite their essential role in providing the raw materials for British confectionary.



Places to Explore CHOCOLATE MUSEUMS

Uncover the rich history of the world's favourite sweet treat

1 MUSEU DE LA XOCOLATA

 **BARCELONA**

Located just a three-minute walk from Ciutadella Park, the Museu De La Xocolata traces the origins of chocolate and its importance to Mesoamerican cultures such as the Maya and the Aztecs, and how it was eventually brought to Europe by the Spanish conquistadors, becoming an element straddling myth and reality. Visitors will get to learn about the manufacturing of chocolate and how it has developed through time, with machines such as those used to grind cocoa beans and mould chocolate bars on display. For more information, there's even an audiovisual presentation of the history and industrial production of chocolate. The museum also boasts chocolate models of iconic buildings such as La Sagrada Familia, Barcelona's famous minor basilica, as well as chocolate imitations of famous works of art. There are guided tours available in Catalan, Spanish and English for €7.50 as well as workshops for the whole family to enjoy - plus you can taste Xocoatl, the chocolate drink of the Aztecs, at the museum cafe.

*Open Monday-Saturday, 10am-7pm; Sunday, 10am-3pm.
Average adult ticket is €4.30. museuxocolata.cat*



2 CHOCOMUSEO

 **CUSCO**

If you really want to learn all about cacao then why not head to a museum that's located in the historical region of Mesoamerica, where it originated? At the ChocoMuseo in Cusco, visitors will discover the history of cacao and chocolate and the process of preparing it from harvesting to production. You can even pay to take part in a two-day

tour to visit the cacao plantations in the Machu Picchu area and learn about production in the region. A popular experience on offer to visitors at the museum is the 'bean to bar' and truffle workshops, where you can make your own chocolate from start to finish. Plus, you can take a tour of the chocolate factory and take part in a tasting session. There are also two ChocoMuseums in Lima, and it's worth noting that there are numerous other locations throughout Central America, including in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Colombia, Costa Rica and Mexico.

The museum is open daily from 8am-8:30pm. Entrance is free. chocomuseo.com



The museum is located in the former Sant Agusti monastery



This museum offers lots of interactive experiences



The museum produces its own chocolate for visitors

3 CHOCOLATE MUSEUM COLOGNE

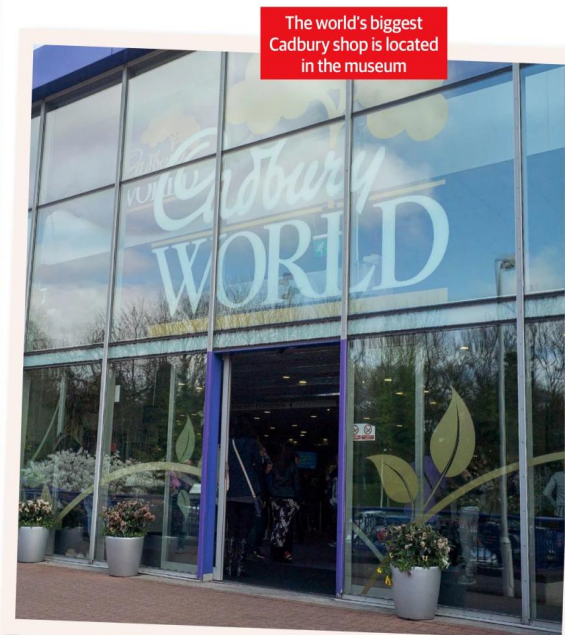
The Chocolate Museum was founded by Dr Hans Imhoff and opened in 1993, becoming one of the most popular museums in the city and welcoming over 14 million visitors since its foundation. Since 2006, it has been partnered with Swiss chocolate manufacturer Lindt & Sprüngli and so it is often referred to as the Lindt Chocolate Museum. It's currently the largest chocolate museum in the world, charting 5000 years of cacao history from its ancient beginnings during the time of the Olmecs, Maya and Aztecs, right through to modern-day production.

Not only will visitors be able to see different species of the cacao plant in the museum's tropical greenhouse, but they will learn about the role chocolate played in the mystical ceremonies of Central America many centuries ago. Among the

museum's huge collection of 100,000 chocolate-related objects are extremely rare items from pre-Columbian Mesoamerica, such as sculptures and drinking vessels.

Also on display is an array of valuable porcelain, silver and gold chocolate services from the 17th and 18th centuries, a time when chocolate was the luxury drink of choice among the wealthy European aristocracy. If you're interested in the advertising and marketing of chocolate in the early 20th century, then it's worth taking a look at the museum's collection of historical chocolate vending machines, packaging and promotional posters.

Open Tuesday-Sunday, 10am-6pm. Average adult ticket is €12.50. schokoladenmuseum.de/en



5 CADBURY WORLD BIRMINGHAM

Undoubtedly one of the most iconic chocolate brands in the world, a visit to Cadbury World is a must for anyone interested in chocolate history. Opened in 1990, it's located in the former grounds of the original Cadbury factory and is one of the biggest attractions in Birmingham.

Visitors can learn about cacao in the time of the Maya and the Aztecs by walking through the museum's tropical rainforest and seeing how important it was to their respective cultures. The arrival of chocolate in Europe and its eventual establishment as a popular drink among the aristocracy is dramatised through a series of entertaining mini-theatre presentations. It's also possible to meet Quaker entrepreneur and founder of the brand, John Cadbury, in a recreation of Victorian Bull Street, where you can learn all about the establishment of the business and go back in time to Cadbury's tea dealer shop, where some of the very first Cadbury products are on display.

Another popular attraction at the museum is the Bournville Experience, which explores the founding of Bournville, the village created by John's sons Richard and George. The exhibit Advertising Avenue charts the history of the brand's advertising over the years, while a number of interactive videos show how popular Cadbury brands, such as Creme Egg and Buttons, are made.

Open Monday-Friday, 10am-3pm; Saturday-Sunday, 9:30am-4:30pm. Average adult ticket is £18. cadburyworld.co.uk

4 THE HERSHEY STORY HERSHEY

The Hershey Story is a museum that explores the life and legacy of Milton S Hershey, a chocolatier and the founder of one of the world's biggest confectionery businesses. It's located in the town of Hershey in Pennsylvania, which was renamed after the magnate after he built his factory there in 1903. The museum's permanent exhibits chart Hershey's rise from failed entrepreneur to one of America's most famous confectioners, perfecting his process of mass-producing milk chocolate and creating his iconic product Hershey's Kisses. There are also exhibits dedicated to Hershey's advertisements before the 1970s, including a streetscape with three 1920s-style storefronts decorated with original displays. The museum's collection is focused on Hershey-related artefacts, such as personal items as well as original chocolate-making tools, machinery and over 1,500 confectionery moulds. An interactive museum with plenty of touch screens, props, working machines and more, The Hershey Story is ideal for a family day out.

Open daily 9am-5pm. Average Adult Ticket is \$13.50. hersheystory.org



The Hershey Story opened in 2009

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SECRETS OF THE SAMURAI



We delve into the tradition, dissect the legends and reveal the innovations that made the samurai one of the most renowned fighting forces in history

Written by Jonathan Gordon,
additional writing by Callum McKelvie

Of all the warriors of history, the samurai are some of the most iconic. The dramatic silhouette of their armour, the demonic snarls fixed on their face masks and the deadly sharpness of their blades are images well established in our minds even if you know little else about their background. Like the Spartans before them, we know the samurai primarily as a warrior class, seemingly devoted to combat and the perfection of their lethal skills.

Naturally, the truth is a little more nuanced and complex. The legends and tales of the samurai that have passed down into popular culture paint a very particular, romantic ideal of the group. As Nitobe Inazō pointed out in his most famous work, *Bushido: The Soul Of Japan* in 1900, they have much in common with medieval knights in that their stories dominate the social landscape of their era even though they made up only a small fraction of the population. They even have in common that they were supposed to live as examples of their warrior codes: chivalry in Europe, Bushido in Japan.

But who were the samurai exactly? Well, it's important to point out that they were not just soldiers, conscripted or otherwise, but an entire social class. From the 12th century to their abolition in 1870 the samurai were the military

nobility of Japan, employed as retainers by wealthy landholders or warlords (called daimyo) to manage their lands. It was not, however, as rigid as it would become.

"The warrior caste was more poorly defined before 1600, so you could have some people not just become samurai but rise to become lords and even de facto rulers of Japan," explains Dr Nyri A Bakkalian, who has written extensively on Japanese military history. "The idea that there was a rigid warrior caste - what we now shorthand as samurai - was more vaguely defined before the Edo period (1600-1868). As a result, the structure of an average fighting force varied. There were armies of peasant conscripts, especially in the 16th century's period of endemic warfare, but as the 16th century gave way to the 17th, the caste system's lines became more rigid, and while there were some statuses - like ashigaru (infantry, literally 'light of foot') - that blurred the lines between warrior and peasant, warfare became the purview of the warrior caste only. It would not be until the early 1860s that there were once again non-warrior conscript armies."

The beginnings of the social stratification that saw the samurai class emerge can be traced back to the Taika Reforms made by Emperor Kōtoku in 645. Based upon the Tang dynasty in China, what followed was several imperial ranks of bureaucrats ▶



Illustration by Joe Cummings



EXPERT BIO |

DR NYRI A BAKKALIAN

Dr Nyri A Bakkalian received her PhD from the University of Pittsburgh and has produced nonfiction, fiction and photography content for more than a dozen publications, including two newspapers and five anthologies. Her first book, *Grey Dawn*, is slated for release in August 2020 from Balance Of Seven Press. You can follow Dr Bakkalian's work on Twitter, Facebook, Substack and Patreon at @riversidewings

being codified, the sixth ranks and below being named samurai. It's believed that this name was then inherited by the generations that followed. The Heian period (794-1185) had seen the title of shogun emerge as a means of controlling regional areas with local officials on behalf of the emperor, and from 1185 in the Kamakura period samurai started being employed to defend the estates of the shogun. This gradual process would greatly change the balance of power throughout Japan.

How it was that the samurai came to dominate the military landscape of Japan from this point on comes down to some fairly basic human instincts. "The old court nobles were lazy, leading up to the 12th century," explains Bakkalian. "They held titles and estates from which they drew their income, but they were living in the flowering culture of the imperial capital, Kyoto, and enjoying the delights of culture and literature it offered. I can't blame them for not wanting to be as involved with the provinces! Going out to the provinces from Kyoto isn't just a drain on resources and time, in an era before ubiquitous roads and bridges, but to people used to poetry and parties in the capital it's also no fun. So they hired samurai in order to oversee and guard those lands. Eventually, the samurai realized they had the swords and thus had the power to be taken seriously by the men in Kyoto, and eventually Minamoto no Yoritomo, himself of warrior roots, was appointed shogun by the emperor in 1185. His was the first shogunate."

With shoguns emerging with more power and samurai able to establish power bases of their own, conflict was inevitable



Image source: WikiArt Museum

"The samurai realized they had the swords and thus had the power to be taken seriously by the men in Kyoto"

ABOVE Katō Kiyomasa fought for Hideyoshi during his unsuccessful Korean invasion, but later sided with Ieyasu when he sought to usurp Hideyoshi's heir and was richly rewarded in the years that followed

LEFT Samurai continued to hold a great deal of power and influence long into the 19th century, but gradually had their privileges stripped away from the 1860s onwards



Image source: Wiki/Capital Collections

between the factions, but Japan would also look like a ripe nation for conquest. So it was, for instance, that the Mongol Yuan dynasty of China under Kublai Khan sought to invade on two occasions, first in 1274 when a samurai force of 10,000 repelled 40,000 from China, and again in 1281 when 40,000 stood up against a force of 140,000. On both occasions weather conditions were in favour of the defending Japanese forces, with a typhoon hitting Hakata Bay in 1281 that decimated the invading Yuan army. The Japanese called these winds the 'kami-no-kaze' or 'wind of the gods'. The belief also began to spread that Japan was under some form of divine protection from foreign invasion.

During this time two important elements of what would become the heart of samurai life began to emerge. Zen Buddhism became prevalent among the warrior class, teaching as it did that they should not fear death or the taking of life. Zen would go on to play a major part in the Bushido code that developed in later years. It was also during the 13th century that the blacksmithing art of laminating steel of varying types to create an incredibly strong and sharp blade was developed. This formed the basis of the daishō, the two blades that samurai would always be seen carrying. The more well-known sword, the katana, was the long blade and most used. The smaller wakizashi was intended for use in tighter spaces, such as indoors.

The years that followed were dominated by internal conflict. From 1467 the 'Age of Warring States', or Sengoku period, began and it was here that the samurai class began to truly define itself. But what developed was not necessarily the highly disciplined warrior style that you might imagine. "There wasn't any one style of samurai warfare, Japan doesn't border any other country by land, and there wasn't a warrior class other than the samurai," Bakkalian explains. "So what we might term as samurai fighting style varies wildly depending on the era, the weapon, and the region. It has many influences both brought about by innovation borne out of battle - as with Miyamoto Musashi's brute force, usually a two-sworded fighting style immortalized in his treatise *A Book Of Five Rings* - as well as outside influences like guns (from Portugal) and heavy polearms (from China)."

In many ways, the samurai valued pragmatism over all things. The fastest way to victory, regardless of weapon, was what



THE MANY WAYS OF THE SWORD

Eight of the most common samurai fighting styles



Muso Jikiden Eishin-ryu

This sword-fighting style placed great emphasis on awareness and speed. Its most famous move, seen often in modern depictions of samurai, is the quick drawing and cutting action with a katana.



Jigen-ryu

This school of swordsmanship was all about getting an instant kill with a powerful first strike. Practitioners of this style tended to hold the sword high and vertically so they could sweep down through the body.



Tenshin Shoden Katori Shinto-ryu

The oldest school of swordsmanship in Japan, dating back to 1447, pupils were given multidisciplinary training using swords, spears, staffs and jujitsu hand-to-hand combat. Many pre-Edo warriors would go into this bracket.



Mugai-ryu

Combining both kenjutsu (sword-fighting) and iaijutsu (quick-drawing), this school was most interested in duels and making sure its practitioners were highly skilled in one-on-one combat, very different to battlefield experience.



Yagyu Shinkage-ryu

This style was all about subtle, flowing movement and put greater emphasis on disarming your opponent rather than necessarily striking them down.



Ono-ha Itto-ryu

Translating as 'one sword' this style focused on achieving a single, powerful strike to take out the adversary in one go. Its 150 specific techniques also form the basis of kendo.



Hyoho Niten Ichi-ryu

The two swords used by samurai were alternated depending on the closeness of the opponent. This school taught a dual-wielding technique that attacked with one blade while defending with the other.



Tamiya-ryu

Developed in the later stages of the Muromachi period, this style of sword-fighting utilised a katana with a longer hilt, which gave the sword more stability - perfect for the big, but accurate, movements involved.



ABOVE Tales of the samurai and their heroic deeds are deeply rooted in Japanese culture

ABOVE-RIGHT Samurai were more than just fearsomely skilled warriors - they were an elite social class

RIGHT Since samurai armour was custom-made, armies would use heraldry in the form of flags called sashimono strapped to their backs to identify their allies

a warrior should care about. Even so, many did specialise in a specific weapon and could make their name doing so. "There were samurai who had exceptional skill with a particular weapon - one needs go no further than Yagyū Munenori's skill with the sword, or Nasu no Yoichi's skill with the bow," Bakkalian reveals. "But generally speaking, especially before the Edo period, there seems to have been an understanding that you train with anything you can get your hands on, because the idea is to win. It's only in more peaceful times, as in the Edo period, where there's the room to specialize particularly deeply. But even there, if a samurai knew how to fight, it was generally with more than one weapon, along with some measure of understanding of unarmed grappling."

This relatively broad approach to weaponry also extended to firearms, which might come as a surprise to some in the face of the puritanical reputation that samurai would gain in later fiction. The first matchlock rifles, made in Portugal, arrived in Japan by way of Chinese pirates in 1543 and it didn't take long for them to be incorporated into the tactics of samurai on the battlefield. Oda Nobunaga and Tokugawa Ieyasu were two men who did just that, and went on to be known as two of the three great unifiers of Japan, Ieyasu himself becoming the first shogun of the Edo

period ruling over all Japan. Bakkalian picks out one instance of their innovation as particularly interesting: "If I had to pick one really salient example focused on Tokugawa Ieyasu's time, it would be the use of rotating volleys of gunfire employed by the Oda-Tokugawa combined force that faced the Takeda clan at Nagashino in 1575. This cut down the vaunted Takeda cavalry at a frightening pace! So I think we'd do well to remain mindful of the fact that despite their veneration of the sword, in the Edo period especially, gunnery remained a fixture of Japanese warfare from the 16th century on."

Of course, this also meant that changes needed to be made to traditional armour manufacturing, something that Bakkalian has been digging into in her work. "My own research has focused on the house of Date, a clan in northern Japan in this period which founded the modern city of Sendai, and they didn't just extensively use firearms, they also had a mass-produced, customisable type of armour. This customisable nature facilitated recognition in battle, and its ease of production let the Date clan equip its army uniformly; the latter point being something that Date Masamune, the Date lord contemporary to Tokugawa, is on record as having emphasized. Because this armour was popularized by the Date clan of Sendai, it's sometimes called 'Sendai-do' ('Sendai cuirass')."

Nobunaga was the first of the warlords to begin the process of unifying Japan and Ieyasu was the third who would ultimately complete that journey. Between them came Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who is an interesting case study because his life is an example of some of the fluidity that existed before the Edo period and perhaps partly the inspiration for the stricter social structures

that would follow for samurai. Unlike the other daimyo and so many of the samurai class, Hideyoshi was born a peasant retainer to the Oda clan who had risen up through the ranks, earning his class status. But after his passing, as Ieyasu looked to cement the work of his forebears to unite the nation under a single ruler and with a single national identity, the concept of social mobility was massively curtailed. In a subtle way Hideyoshi had actually started that process when he passed laws making it legal only for the samurai to carry weapons in public and had then ordered the samurai to leave the countryside and reside in the major cities. This was intended as a way to disarm the peasantry and make maintaining the peace easier, but it also reinforced the class divides of the nation.

This was a state of affairs that would last for most of the Edo period. "After 1600, most of the time, you had to be born a samurai," explains Bakalian. "Closer to the end of the Edo period, in the 19th century, there was a resurgence of people from other castes becoming samurai, sometimes even by buying the status from their local lord or from the shogunate. Mind you, if you

"After 1600, most of the time you had to be born a samurai"

bought the status, you became a vassal to that lord, and with that came responsibilities, so it wasn't always attractive. Just before the caste's abolition it got to where it was a matter of buying a second sword and maybe changing your name and hairstyle."

It was under the leadership of Tokugawa Ieyasu as the first shogun of the Edo period that the samurai began to more firmly cement the identity that has come to be known today. In many ways, Ieyasu himself embodied many of the traits that we associate so closely with the warrior class: calm under pressure and quick to strike when the opportunity emerged. "The biggest thing to remember about Tokugawa Ieyasu is that he was patient," says Bakalian. "He was skilled in battlefield command, sure, but he seems to have understood that one doesn't just win wars on the battlefield. He was also good at building coalitions and waiting out rivals, which only strengthened the odds of his ultimate victory. There's an apocryphal poem attributed to him that says 'If the nightingale doesn't sing, I'll wait for it to sing', which illustrates this perfectly. He couldn't have done what he did alone - Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi set the stage



A WARRIOR'S ARMOUR

Key details of the samurai's iconic uniform

Datemono/tatemono

These crests often adorned the top of a samurai's helmet. This decoration could vary and could be of family crests or mottos, while some of the more elaborate had small sculptures of animals or mythical creatures. Horns however became particularly popular and especially those that resembled stylised deer horns, called kuwagata. These horns could be used to identify a commander on the battlefield.

Do

A 'do' was the breastplate of a samurai's armour. Early do were constructed out of numerous iron 'scales', sometimes up to 250 individual pieces. Later tosei-gusoku style armour was constructed from iron plates as opposed to scales. There were many different types, including some that opened at the back and others that opened at the side.

Han kote

Armoured gloves, these were a variation of kote that would sometimes extend to the shoulder. Made initially from cloth, they were then covered with numerous small iron plates in order to provide protection. Others were quilted with either the metal or animal hide sewn inside.

Yari

The samurai often carried a yari into battle. These spears were usually topped with a straight blade that could vary in length from several centimetres to one metre more. There were numerous types of yari blade, each with its own name and history. The most popular design was shaped like a dagger and had a razor-sharp edge that allowed it to cut as well as stab.

Daisho

The pairing of a katana with another often smaller sword was referred to as daisho. Prior to the 17th century, only the longer of the two swords was typically used in combat. It was only after swordsman Miyamoto Musashi introduced the use of the single-handed grip that this changed. Only samurai were permitted to wear daisho as it was a symbol of both social class and personal honour.



for Tokugawa Ieyasu's ultimate victory and final unification of Japan - but his patience and his skill at big-picture thinking allowed him to reach that point rather than fizzle out or self-destruct as many of his contemporaries did. I highly recommend the late Professor Conrad Totman's short biography *Tokugawa Ieyasu: Shogun* for an eminently accessible account of this fascinating man's life."

Ieyasu would officially be made shogun by Emperor Go-Yozai in 1603, abdicating in 1605 as was tradition and then continuing as ogosho (retired shogun), still essentially running the country. After the Battle of Sekigahara brought him to power and the Osaka campaigns crushed the last of the resistance to his rule, the Edo period entered into a long age of relative peace. It was during this time, without war to occupy them, that a unified samurai identity also took shape.

What is a warrior to do when they have no wars to fight? Well, as an aristocratic class, many sought positions of power in the new administration. "Without regular warfare, the samurai caste's warrior obligations became more theoretical, though some modicum of training in the martial arts was still expected," Bakkalian tells us. "Samurai were warriors by birth but were government functionaries or teachers or engineers, or any number of other occupations that formed the ranks of either the shogunate's or the feudal domains' governments. Meteoric rise and promotion, which was more common in the 16th century, became uncommon, and status within the samurai caste became less flexible. Especially in the middle and later parts of this era, some domains even had strict codification of what colours a samurai of a given rank could wear. It wasn't until the era's last century when the US Navy's gunboats broke Japan's isolation, that the status quo was shaken - and barely 15 years later, the Tokugawa shogunate came to an end altogether."

Those lower down the ranks unable to rise up like they might have done in the past sought other avenues and businesses. "Without increases in stipend many samurai, especially of lower rank, had to find other ways of supplementing their incomes," Bakkalian continues. "I think my favourite case is one company of ashigaru (foot soldiers) in Sendai domain, who had guard duty over a certain bridgehead east of the castle town. They supplemented their meagre stipends by selling okoshi, which is a pastry that resembles modern puffed rice squares."

In other times and places, such large numbers of warriors might have caused internal conflict or sought glory through empire





THE IMPORTANCE OF MASKS

Samurai face coverings came in many designs and sizes

Hanbo

This variation covers only the lower part of the face, from the mouth downwards. As the masks were steel and therefore could become incredibly hot, a small hole was located underneath the chin to allow for the drainage of sweat. The interiors of the masks were usually lacquered in stark reds and golds.



Menpo

The majority of samurai masks were of this type, covering the nose and face directly below the wearer's eyes. This helped protect the majority of the face while still providing clear and uninterrupted vision. They would also help secure a samurai's helmet to his head - this would also shield the upper part of the face.



Somen

A somen is a type of mask that covered the warrior's entire face. Developed during the Muromachi period, they then evolved to incorporate human features, before the masks of the Edo period became wildly more imaginative. The example here shows a tengu, a form of malevolent demon.



ABOVE Their legendary bravery in battle was a rich source of inspiration for Japanese artists

LEFT Samurai were held up as exemplars of morality for the rest of the population to look up to

BELOW The Battle of Sekigahara would ultimately seal Ieyasu's control of Japan and begin a long era of relative peace for Japan in the Edo period

building abroad, but Japan instead closed itself off from the world and it seems the samurai didn't waste this chance for self-reflection. Buddhism had already been an influential philosophy as mentioned before but Confucius and Mencius, with their teachings about loyalty and honour, became required reading for samurai in the mid-16th century too. The idea that samurai could be living examples of moral virtues began to take shape and from this combination of Zen Buddhism, Confucius and a little Shintō (Japan's indigenous religion) the concept of Bushido, meaning 'the way of the warrior' took shape. Being a samurai had to become about more than just being a good fighter, since opportunities to prove that began to thin out.

There were still conflicts, as Bakalian explains: "There were many peasant uprisings during the Edo period, in which the shogunate's forces or the local lords' forces were again called into action. But for the most part, after the Shimabara Uprising

"It wasn't until the era's last century when the US Navy's gunboats broke Japan's isolation that the status quo was shaken"

of 1638, there were no regular large-scale military operations by samurai again until the 1850s." So Bushido came to revolve around respecting martial acts, being prudent and measured. Samurai boys were given swords from as young as five years old and taught to respect these dangerous tools.

Bushido, the image and culture of the samurai, became the heart of the new, united Japan of the Edo period. It was an image that would ultimately be rejected during the rapid westernisation of the Meiji Restoration in the mid-19th century and would reemerge to drive the war effort in the 20th century. Ultimately, the samurai were so much more than just warriors, as Japanese author Nitobe Inazō puts it in *Bushido: The Soul Of Japan*: "What Japan was she owed to the samurai. They were not only the flower of the nation but its root as well. All the gracious gifts of Heaven flowed through them. Though they kept themselves socially aloof from the populace, they set a moral standard for them and guided them by their example." ○



3x Image source: Metropolitan Museum of Art



The Dancer Who Toppled A King

*Shocking audiences around the world with her provocative performances,
Lola Montez and her lies caused chaos wherever she went*

Written by Jessica Leggett

Beautiful. Manipulative. Salacious. These are just a handful of the words used to describe Lola Montez, the Irish woman who achieved international fame and notoriety thanks to her sensual performances and her fake identity as 'the Spanish dancer'.

Continuing her deception, she managed to become the mistress of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, an illicit relationship that helped trigger the downfall of his reign. So who exactly was the real Lola Montez and how did she bring down a king?

Born as Eliza Rosanna Gilbert in Ireland, 1821, she was the daughter of Edward

Gilbert, a British army officer and Eliza Oliver, a milliner's assistant and the illegitimate daughter of Charles Silver Oliver, an MP and the former high sheriff of Cork. The family moved to India in 1823 but Edward succumbed to cholera shortly after their arrival, leaving behind his young wife and daughter. ►





The following year, the elder Eliza remarried and sent her daughter back to Britain to attend school and stay with relatives. When she was 16, the young Eliza defied her mother's wishes for her to marry Sir Abraham Lumly, later described by Lola in her autobiography as "a rich and gouty rascal of 60 years", instead eloping in Ireland with a young lieutenant named Thomas James. They moved to Calcutta, India, but the marriage disintegrated after five years - Lola would later comment that "runaway matches, like runaway horses, are almost sure to end in a smash-up". When the divorce was granted, both parties were banned from remarrying while their former spouse was living.

Divorced and disowned by her family, Eliza seized the opportunity to reinvent herself and travelled to Spain to train as a dancer, assuming the guise of a widow of a Spanish nobleman. Adopting the stage name Lola Montez, she made her London debut at Her Majesty's Theatre, Haymarket, in 1843, earning rapturous applause with her Spider Dance, swivelling her hips and lifting her skirts while stomping on plastic spiders. However, she was quickly recognised as 'Mrs James' and the story spread in the papers, causing a backlash. Lola wrote to the press to defend her 'Spanish' identity - which was, of course, a lie - but it was clear that her London career was over just as it was beginning.



ABOVE
A contemporary lithograph of angry protestors gathering outside Lola's mansion in Bavaria

Despite this setback, Lola built upon the scandal of her London appearance and went on tour the following year, performing in Munich, Warsaw, St Petersburg and Paris - where she apparently hurled her slipper at the audience from the stage after being booed by hecklers. Lola was not a talented dancer but she made up for it with her unshakable confidence and irrepressible sex appeal.

Making a name for herself as a dancer on the Continent, Lola came into contact with distinguished figures such as Tsar Nicholas I of Russia and George Sand, becoming well-known for her love of smoking and drinking and her fiery temper. She also had numerous affairs with notable men such as composer Franz Liszt and writer Alexandre Dumas, quickly gaining a reputation as a courtesan.

Lola briefly became engaged to journalist Alexandre Dujarier, but he was killed one fateful night in a duel against another journalist, Jean-Baptiste Rosemond de Beauvallon. Just hours before, Lola and Dujarier had argued over her attendance at a party to which Dujarier subsequently arrived drunk, offending Beauvallon and sparking the duel. At the

inquest into his death, Lola reportedly told the court that she was a better shot than her slain fiancé - in fact, she was said to have been good with a pistol, a whip and even a dagger.

Moving to Munich, Bavaria, in October 1846, Lola wanted to perform at the Stage Theatre but her request was declined by the director, who knew that his deeply Catholic Bavarian audience would not accept her. Angered by the rejection, Lola brazenly went to Residenz Palace, King Ludwig's residence, and demanded an audience with him. Ludwig, who despite his marriage to Queen Therese was well known for his wandering eye, was instantly captivated by Lola - at 60 years old, he was almost four decades her senior. It's rumoured that when they first met he asked Lola if her bosom was real, and in response she tore off her clothing to prove that it was.

Infatuated with her, Ludwig arranged for Lola's debut at the Munich theatre as she wished, but it was a disaster as her provocative dancing outraged the Catholic audience - just as the director had predicted. Nonetheless, Ludwig's obsession with the Spanish dancer had only just

Her Spider Dance earned Lola both fame and notoriety



"Lola was not a talented dancer but she made up for it with her unshakable confidence and irrepressible sex appeal"

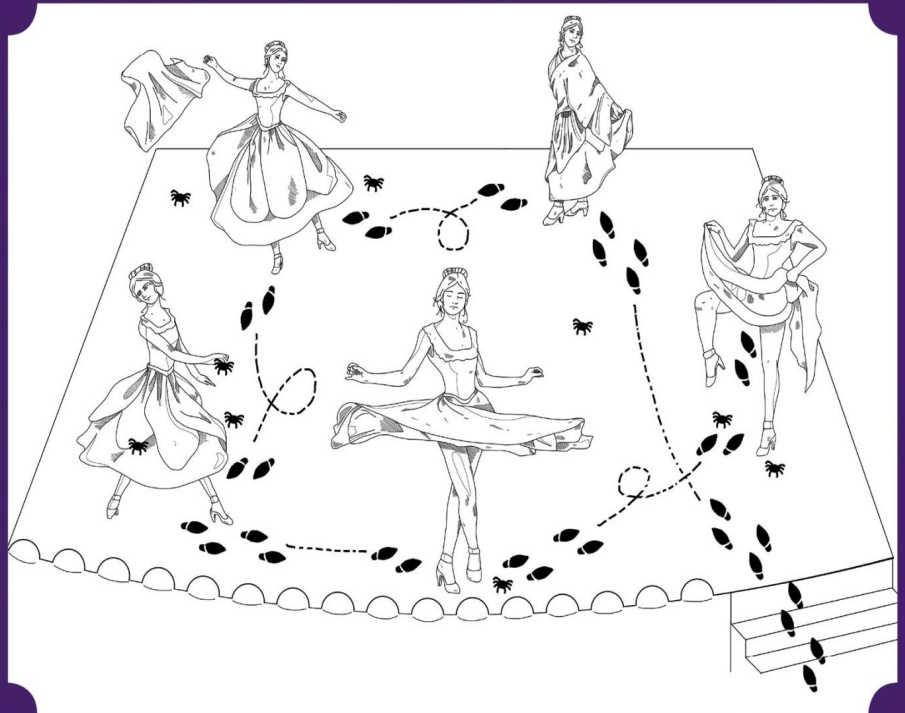
Dance Like Everyone's Watching

Travelling the world with her Spider Dance, Lola Montez's provocative routine caused uproar

After a scandalous marriage that ended in her husband's mysterious death in 1851, Lola travelled to the US to start afresh. Here she performed on stage, starring in plays that depicted her controversial life in Bavaria and later introducing audiences to her dance that flirted with controversy: the Spider Dance.

Donning flesh-coloured tights, a short dress with multicoloured petticoats and with spiders made of cork dangling from her skirts, Lola danced, spun, writhed and stamped in an attempt to 'throw off' the spiders. It was a ridiculous sight, yet the show was a sell-out. Night after night, Lola performed her Spider Dance, her contortions appalling the prim ladies and tantalising the men. On 28 May 1853 the *Daily Alta California* wrote of Lola's performance: "The Spider Dance is a very remarkable affair. It is thoroughly Spanish, certainly, and it cannot be denied that it is a most attractive performance. As a danseuse, Madame Lola is above mediocrity. Indeed, some parts of her execution were truly admirable."

The inspiration behind Lola's dance remains elusive - some believe the routine was inspired by the Italian tarantella, a dance that finds its roots in tarantism, an incurable dancing mania that was thought to be caused by the bite of a spider. Growing increasingly manic as the dance



progresses, the victims would only recover after this long bout of frenzied dancing.

After appalling and enthralling American audiences, in 1855 Lola took her dance to

Australia to entertain workers from the gold mines. It proved unsuccessful and one year later she returned to the US, apparently opening her arms to God in her final days.

begun and they spent increasing amounts of time together, with the king writing passionate letters to her every day.

The problem with this affair, however, was that it wasn't just Lola's beauty and sensuality that enchanted Ludwig. In *The American Law Journal* of 1848, it was reported that the king "became enamoured of her originality of character, her mental powers and those bold and novel political views which she fearlessly and frankly laid before him". It was clear that the dancer wielded a lot of influence over her lover and his willingness to discuss state affairs with her, a liberal, was seen as a threat by his conservative government.

Not only did Lola's political views clash with the conservative Bavarian court, but her arrogance and temper made her extremely unpopular across the country - it's even said that she would use her whip on people in the streets. Lola was openly shunned in public as a disreputable woman and the growing disdain for her was blatant, although she did have

some support from a group of university students who supported her liberalism.

Before long, Lola had earned herself the moniker 'the uncrowned queen of Bavaria' and Ludwig - who refused to hear any complaint against his mistress - gifted her with jewels, a monthly stipend and a mansion in Barerstraße. He even commissioned a portrait of her for his Gallery of Beauties. Meanwhile, when a story emerged in London's *The Pictorial Times* about Lola's true identity as an Irish divorcee, she denied it and sent letters to the major newspapers of London, Paris and parts of Germany with her 'true' biography. This included the following excerpt: "Sir, In consequence of the numerous reports circulated in various papers regarding myself and my family utterly void of foundation or truth... I was born at Seville in the year 1823. My father was a Spanish officer in the service of Don Carlos..."

It was completely fabricated, but Lola couldn't risk the king discovering her deception and she argued that the

stories in the press were part of a Jesuit conspiracy against her. The tense situation surrounding her relationship with the king worsened when it became clear that Lola not only wanted to become a naturalised Bavarian citizen, but she also wanted to be elevated to the nobility.

BELOW Lola's outrageous dancing enthralled and shocked audiences





© Alamy

In 1847 Ludwig announced his intention to name Lola as the Countess of Landsfeld, much to the horror of his government, who believed that the king's illicit relationship would destabilise the state. When Prime Minister Karl von Abel objected to Lola being made a countess, the king responded by firing him and his administration. Proceeding with the appointment, Ludwig also gave Lola an estate, feudal privileges and an annuity of 20,000 marks - roughly £5,000 - as well as making her a member of Queen Therese's personal order.

A blind eye had been turned to the king's infidelities over the years, but elevating his mistress to a noble rank was a step too far. When the professors of the university voiced their displeasure, Ludwig promptly dismissed them in February 1848. The students, now finding their loyalties increasingly divided as they watched the plight of their teachers, decided to protest outside Lola's mansion. Approaching her window to view the protestors, Lola raised a glass of champagne to them while eating a box of chocolates, which she then chucked at the mob below. After this incident, she encouraged the king to shut the university altogether - an ill-advised decision if ever there was one.

Infuriated, the students rioted in the streets and were quickly joined by other citizens who were sick of the king's unruly mistress. When Lola decided to venture out of the mansion, she was forced to take cover when she was attacked by the waiting protestors, with the king sending the police to rescue her - although, true to form, she managed to fire a few shots from her pistol over the demonstrators. Even

ABOVE Men flocked to see Lola's daring performances in the United States

BELOW Lola poses for a daguerreotype taken in the 1850s

the king's new government, which had been selected with Lola's help, resigned when he refused point-blank to renounce his mistress.

It wasn't until thousands of enraged protestors stood outside his palace that the king finally agreed to reopen the university and, reluctantly, give up his beloved Lola. She was whisked away to Switzerland in the middle of the night, but too much damage had been done to the king's reputation. The unrest in Bavaria coincided with the republican revolutions that were sweeping through Europe that year and soon a revolt had gripped the country. This unrest worsened when it



2x © Getty Images



The Other Side To Lola

She was far more than the scandal she courted

Thanks to the lies she propagated herself, Lola's life is irrevocably twisted with myths and falsities. In this respect she was most certainly a con artist and she repeatedly attempted to defend her fake backstory as a native Spaniard, changing the year of her birth, birthplace and even who her father was, despite newspaper articles presenting evidence to the contrary.

However, in getting wrapped up about her colourful life, it's easy to forget that she was more than just a seductress with an ugly temper. After all, Lola mingled confidently in the artistic and literary circles of the day, charming some of the greatest minds in Europe with not only her physical allure but also her intellectual conversation. She was even photographed by Nadar, who captured portraits of some of the most prominent Parisians of the day. Lola was also a fluent linguist and gave dancing lessons to Lotta Crabtree, encouraging her to pursue a career in entertainment - the young girl would later become one of the most beloved entertainers of the 19th century.

Ultimately, Lola was a self-made woman who refused to be constrained by contemporary social and moral expectations of women, living life on her own terms and achieving fame in her own way. Perhaps her attitude is best shown through the dedication she wrote for her 1858 book *The Arts Of Beauty; Or Secrets Of A Lady's Toilet*: "To all men and women of every land, who are not afraid of themselves, who trust so much in their own souls that they dare to stand up in the might of their own individuality, to meet the tidal currents of the world, this book is respectfully dedicated, by The Author."

The Dancer Who Toppled A King



LEFT Lola's elevation to the Bavarian nobility would ultimately end in disaster

BELOW King Ludwig chose to support his mistress over his government

was discovered that Lola had returned to Munich uninvited shortly after she had been expelled. Backed into a corner, Ludwig was forced to abdicate his throne in favour of his son, Maximilian, on 20 March 1848.

Despite losing his throne Ludwig remained hopelessly besotted with Lola and continued to support her financially - until he heard that she'd taken other lovers while abroad. In one of his final letters to her, he said, "It is not your enemies who have made me change my feelings for you but your conduct. You always look outside for motives for what happens to you, but you must look inside." Lola was furious about the end of their relationship and threatened to publish the intimate letters he'd written to her, although she never did.

Forced to start over, Lola travelled first to France and then to London in late-1848, where she quickly married George Trafford Heald, a young, wealthy English cavalry officer. But their newly wedded bliss soon encountered trouble when Heald's relatives uncovered Lola's true identity and had her charged with bigamy, since her first husband, Thomas James, was still alive. Lola and Heald fled Spain, but their tumultuous relationship came to an abrupt end when Heald allegedly drowned just two years later.

Sailing to New York in 1851, Lola started afresh in the United States, performing in Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans and San Francisco over the next two years. She also embarked on an acting career and starred in a play written specifically for her, *Lola*

Montez In Bavaria, which was both a humorous but censored version of what had really occurred. Nonetheless, Lola proved a hit with audiences.

In July 1853 she married her third husband, newspaperman Patrick Hull, and they moved to Grass Valley, California - but once again her marriage quickly fell apart. According to one story, the doctor who was named by Hull as a co-respondent in the divorce suit was found shot dead shortly after. Remaining in Grass Valley for the next two years, Lola hired a young actor, Noel Follin, as her manager before embarking on a tour of Australia, where she found herself entertaining miners during the height of the gold rush.

After her first performance Lola received some positive reviews, with the critic for *Bell's Life In Sydney And Sporting Reviewer* stating, "Her entré was modest and elegant, and throughout the long performance she played with a mingled fervour, grace, playfulness and pathos that fully gained the favour of all." However, the criticisms quickly returned when she performed her Spider Dance at the Theatre

Royal, Melbourne, in September 1855, lifting her skirts so high that the audience could see that she had no underwear on. A critic at *The Argus* newspaper described her performance as "utterly subversive to all ideas of public morality."

Her notoriety deepened in February 1856 when she attacked the editor of *The Ballarat Times*, Henry Seekamp, with her whip after reading a bad review of her performance. He retaliated and sued her for assault, while she sued him for slander. Both cases failed but Lola's solicitor then successfully sued him for libel, and he eventually sold the newspaper and left. Just two months later, she was asked to perform an encore after her Spider Dance at Castlemaine in front of 400 miners, but she aggravated the audience when she insulted them after some mild heckling.

Lola returned to the United States that May but on the way, Follin was mysteriously lost overboard - just another unexplained death associated with her.

"Lola was openly shunned in public as a disreputable woman and the growing disdain for her was blatant"



After failing in her attempts to revive her career, Lola started delivering moral lectures written by Reverend Charles Chauncey Burr. She also published several texts including her autobiography, which unsurprisingly painted her in a favourable light. By 1860 syphilis had ravaged her body, and as her health declined it was said she repented the transgressions of her life. When she died aged 39 on 17 January 1861, the *Sacramento Daily Union* wrote that she'd spent her last days taking "refuge in the consolation of the Christian faith". Her headstone bore the name 'Mrs Eliza Gilbert'.

Becoming one of the most famous women of the 19th century, Lola was the embodiment of a 'bad woman' who young Victorian girls were warned never aspire to. Throughout her life Lola had both scandalised and delighted audiences around the world, contributed to the fall of a king and peddled so many myths about herself that it's impossible to know the whole truth about her - and so remains just as fascinating and mystifying in death as she was in life. ○

HOW TO LOSE A CIVILISATION

Ancient expert Philip Matyszak reveals the many ways ancient peoples have disappeared from history

Written by Jonathan Gordon

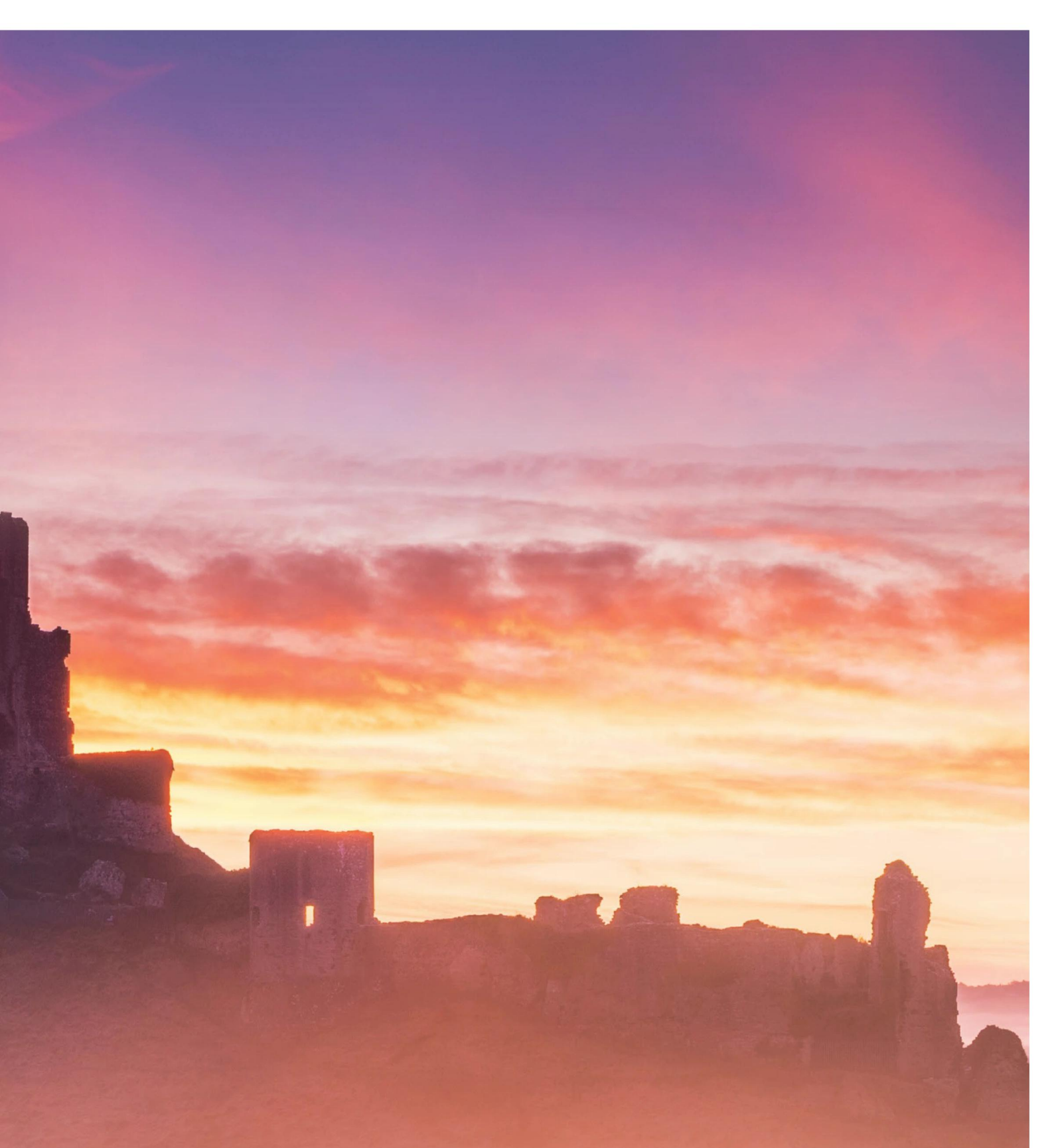


It's sometimes said that being remembered is a form of immortality. By this measure the peoples of ancient Rome, Athens and Egypt to name just a few will never really die. Their memory, culture, rulers and achievements have been passed down through the generations and spread across the globe to make them part of the bedrock of history.

But what of their neighbours? What about the city states that only popped

up in our school history books as adversaries and nuisances on the seemingly inevitable path to victory for these megastars of the past? Is it simply that the records were written by the victors?

In some cases that might be the case, but the fate of many cultures and nations can not so simply be written off in such Darwinian terms. Military strength alone did not protect a people from the cruel twists of nature and time, because



if it did then they would be standing alongside us to this day.

In his new book, *Forgotten Peoples Of The Ancient World*, Philip Matyszak looks to chronicle the achievements and contributions of some of the lost nations of history. From the Akkadians to the Visigoths, he picks through the evidence, sifts through the myths and legends and looks to reveal the people who have otherwise been relegated to the background of history.

Given all of this, we were curious to learn from Matyszak how it is that a civilisation could be lost in the first place. From war and conquest to natural disasters, how an entire culture can be sidelined by time is a fascinating subject to dig into as is how we can then find them again.

When we talk about lost ancient civilisations, what do we typically mean by that?

Basically, it's one that we have lost sight of in the modern era. It's human to regard things that happened recently as more important than events in the distant past. So consider the Akkadians, ►

EXPERT BIO

PHILIP MATYSZAK

Philip Matyszak has a doctorate in ancient history from Oxford and has written about Rome, Greece and more. His books include *Ancient Magic*, *24 Hours In Ancient Athens* and *Sparta: Fall Of A Warrior Nation*.



who lasted about as long as the modern USA has to date. Sargon the Great was the first to unify different peoples into a single empire and systematize international trade. Yet a recent survey of 'The 100 most important people in history' does not mention Sargon or any other Akkadian. (Justin Bieber made the list, though!) So I'd count a civilisation as lost if it's forgotten by the general public.

Could you give us some classic examples of the kinds of ancient civilisations that have been lost or forgotten by time?

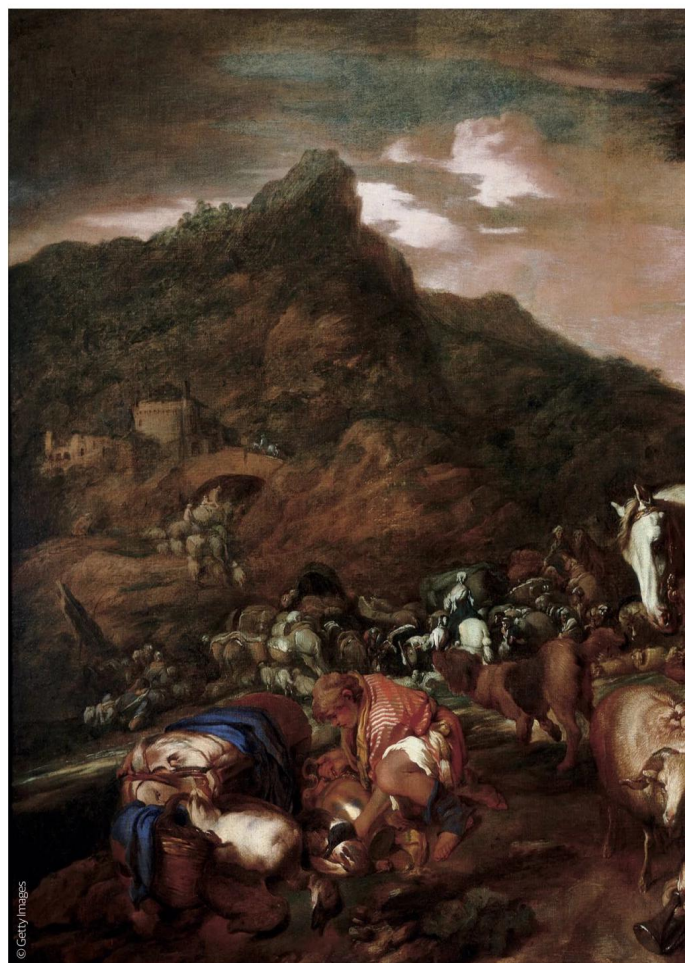
Well, just about any ancient Mesopotamian or Anatolian civilisation other than the Sumerians, Assyrians and Babylonians, for a start. We can look at the Luwians, the Hurrians and the Amorites - peoples who helped to lay the building blocks of civilisation such as how to use streets, shops and houses and other things so fundamental we don't even think they had to be invented. Yet only a few specialists know of these civilisations today. Greek civilisation in the east is another example. Some people are surprised to know that there are ruins of ancient Greek cities in modern Turkey - yet Kandahar in Afghanistan is named after Alexander the Great (whom the locals called Iskander).

Are there civilisations that we know existed thanks to references elsewhere, but of which we can find no physical evidence?

Er, Atlantis? What's more common is that archaeologists have found physical evidence for civilisations we don't know of. Even the Sumerians seem to have built on the works of a yet more ancient but now totally vanished people. Also, sometimes the Hebrews, Assyrians and Egyptians called the same people by different names so we're still trying, for example, to find out who were the people of the land of Ophir who sent Solomon his ivory, apes and peacocks. We probably know of the people, but lack the ability to distinguish them by name alone.

What was the most common way for a civilisation to be lost?

Assimilation. No civilisation remains separate and unique, and eventually the addition of new ideas, peoples and cultures blends one civilisation with another until a new entity emerges with a different identity. Thus the Chaldean people came to conquer the Babylonians, but within a few generations the Chaldeans themselves became Babylonians, though the Babylon that assimilated them was also changed by the process. Through reading Roman



© Getty Images

history we can see how the Etruscans went from being a very distinctive people to becoming not indistinguishable from Romans, but actual Romans in appearance, language and culture.

Would more powerful groups end up taking credit for the culture and innovations of the less powerful in such a process?

This did happen on occasion. For example, the Greeks were building aqueducts before the Romans, and the Kushites were much more enthusiastic pyramid builders than the Egyptians. However, it's less a matter of taking credit than it is of one culture taking another culture's idea and running with it. For example, the Greeks based their alphabet and shipbuilding techniques on Phoenician ideas, but adapted and improved them. One is reminded of how a modern IT company might take a pre-existing idea and make it into something more user-friendly and universal.

Are there many ancient examples of what we would now call a genocide wiping out a civilisation?

This is a touchy subject, even today. The textbook case is the *Bible's* description of



Image source: [wikipedia.org/wiki/Urartu](https://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urartu)

ABOVE Fragments of a Hurrian tablet



Image source: Metropolitan Museum of Art

ABOVE Hittite techniques were passed on to subsequent groups

LEFT There are many examples of peoples who are mentioned in the *Bible* who are otherwise lost to time. Canaan is one such city that comes up on numerous occasions

the Hebrew settlement of Canaan, which sounds uncomfortably like genocide. Consider this, which is just one example: "Joshua struck all the land ... He left no survivor, but he utterly destroyed all who breathed, just as the Lord, the God of Israel, had commanded." (Joshua 10.40) However, archaeology and DNA shows that the bloodthirsty accounts in the *Bible* need some reconsideration. The walls of Jericho probably collapsed to the sound of trumpets because the city was apparently long-abandoned at that time, and DNA

Are there many examples of natural disasters, famine or disease being responsible for the complete destruction of civilisations?

Yes, for example the Garamantes of Africa were a flourishing civilisation destroyed by the relentless expansion of the Sahara desert. Mostly, though, it's hard to nail a single event to the destruction of a civilisation. For example Mycenaean Greece came to a very violent end, and climate change, epidemic and volcanic eruption have all been considered as the causes of

"Even the Sumerians seem to have built on the works of a yet more ancient but now totally vanished people"

testing shows plenty of Canaanite descendants alive today. The Assyrians were masters of cultural genocide through their habit of deporting restive peoples to different parts of their empire, where they were assimilated by the locals. This, for example, is the probable fate of the 'lost tribes of Israel'. However, actual genocide was vanishingly rare - mainly because no ancient civilisation had the means, or the inclination, to do the job properly.

this. But those in the midst of a collapsing civilisation seldom take the time to give posterity a considered opinion of why it was happening. And if they did, the record had a poor chance of surviving under stressful circumstances. Even with the best-documented collapse of a civilisation - the western Roman Empire - there's a furious ongoing debate about what caused the collapse, or even if it actually happened at all. ▶

GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

Just some of the lost peoples whose contribution to history is sometimes ignored

AMORITES

Era: c.2000-1595 BCE

Location: Assyria and Akkad

One of many Mesopotamian cultures that competed over the region for centuries, the Amorites built up the small town of Babylon into one of the most prominent cities of the region and founded several other cities.

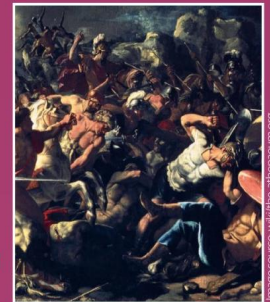


Image source: wikipedia/Herlitzhausmorg

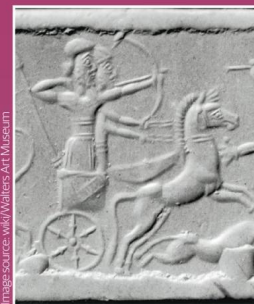


Image source: wikipedia/Volker Art Museum

ELAMITES

c.2700-646 BCE

Location: Elam

Located in the west of modern-day Iran, the Elamites rose and fell many times in wars with states such as Sumer and Akkad. Its culture went on to be formative in the Achaemenid dynasty and its language continued to be used.

KUSHITES

c.1000 BCE - 350 CE

Location: Nubia

Southern neighbours to the Egyptians, it's been speculated that the better-known civilisation may have learnt a great deal from the Kushites. In fact, the pharaohs of the 25th dynasty of Egypt were the monarchs of Kush.



Image source: wikipedia/Metropolitan Museum of Art



Image source: wikipedia/Museum

BACTRIANS

329 BCE - 10 CE

Location: Bactra

In what is now northern Afghanistan the city of Bactra was home to the Bactrians, subjects of the Persian empire. They fought against Alexander the Great and peace was only achieved when he married their princess Roxanna.

GALATIANS

279 BCE - 500 CE

Location: Galatia

Essentially Gauls who'd travelled as far east as Ankara, the Galatians were initially abandoned by their military leaders and then expelled by the Macedonians. They wandered Anatolia before settling in the highlands.



Image source: wikipedia/Quadrat



What signs might we find of lost civilisations that can help us rediscover them?

Archaeology has been filling in the gaps in our knowledge at an astounding rate. Dating techniques, DNA analysis and advances in linguistics are teasing apart the threads of the different but intertwined cultures and peoples who populated the ancient world. Some isolated western Chinese villages occasionally produce blue-eyed children and there's an ongoing project to discover where those genes came from. The Lost Legions of Crassus, perhaps?

So presumably there are artefacts we thought belonged to one culture that are now being revealed as belonging to another?

Actually one way of distinguishing one culture from another is that almost every people have an idiosyncratic approach to artefacts. Gandara art is a good example, where we see Greek influences affecting Indian art at the very moment the Greek culture of Bactria was being subsumed. Archaeologists have been able to track the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Britain because British and Germanic buckets (which often got lost down wells) had different designs. When we discover similar artefacts in different places - for example it seems some of the mysterious 'Sea Peoples' either came from or settled in Crete - then this gives us the thread to tie apparently unrelated peoples together.

Could you give us some examples of civilisations that have been rediscovered and what they add to our understanding of their era?

One good example is the Hittites. For hundreds of years people knew them mainly through Biblical references to people such as Uriah the Hittite. The Hittites were believed to be scattered tribal groupings around the northern borders of Israel until archaeological finds and deciphered Egyptian texts showed them to be a large, powerful civilisation that dominated much of Anatolia. This was learnt around the same time it was discovered that Troy was not a mythical city but in fact an actual place.

Troy is an interesting example. Can you speak to how they became so lost as to become a legend?

We know from archaeology that Troy was actually destroyed several times. The final time, the city failed to rise from the ruins and truly became a 'lost city'. Once that happens it is very easy for a site to be



ABOVE The Siege of Troy was long assumed to be a myth by historians until the ruins of the city were discovered

RIGHT A well-preserved statue from the ancient Phrygian civilisation



Image source: Metropolitan Museum of Art

so comprehensively reclaimed by nature that even an expert eye cannot easily discern that it was there. Even in my part of Canada, the forest has reclaimed some abandoned mining towns to the extent that I've walked through one without even realizing it was there! And that was a thriving town just 75 years ago.

The major empires of the ancient world dominate our history. Has this concentration of attention also contributed to some ancient civilisations being forgotten?

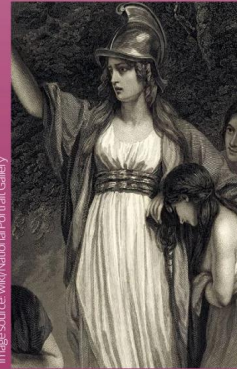
Very much so. We hear a lot about the Egyptians but very little about the Nubians and Kushites who profoundly affected Egyptian civilisation. The Greeks are rightly praised for their contributions to western culture, but much of what they gave us was in fact the adapted legacy of other civilisations such as the Phoenicians. How many people today know that there was a Greek civilisation in Bactria that lasted for over 250 years?

Has a concentration on western history also meant that some civilisations have simply been ignored for many years?

Oh, indeed. Historians are far from immune

QUEEN OF A LOST PEOPLE

Boudica and the lost people made famous by rebellion



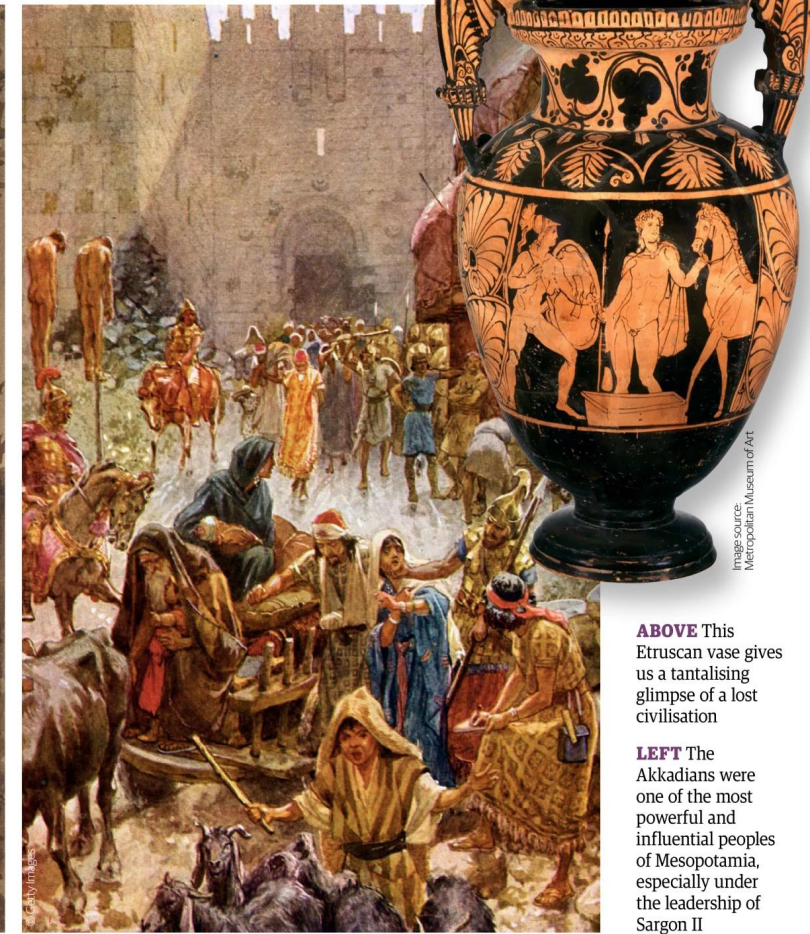
When the Romans conquered Britannia they were not facing one unified nation as we might know it today, but several smaller tribal states spread across the British Isles. Most have been lost to time, but one remains at least moderately known. The name of the Iceni has survived not so much because they were an exceptional people in terms of record-keeping, building or craftsmanship, but because they stood up to the

Romans with their queen, Boudica, becoming one of Britain's legendary leaders.

The Iceni were based in what is now Norfolk, reaching out to Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, and were initially supporters of the Romans during Claudius' invasion of the island in 43 CE, remaining independent until the death of King Prasutagus in 60 CE. When the Romans attempted to seize control in the king's absence, his wife Boudica raised an army to rebel against them. While the Romans would eventually prove victorious, the revolt was costly to them and its impact was long remembered.

ABOVE This Etruscan vase gives us a tantalising glimpse of a lost civilisation

LEFT The Akkadians were one of the most powerful and influential peoples of Mesopotamia, especially under the leadership of Sargon II



“One way of distinguishing one culture from another is that almost every people have an idiosyncratic approach to artefacts”

against contemporary misconceptions and prejudices. So for centuries western historians have elevated the achievements of ‘their’ Greeks and Romans while depreciating the contribution of ‘lesser’ cultures in the Middle East and Africa. Only now are we realizing that cities such as Meroe in the Sudan were the equivalent of anything in ancient Europe. To their credit, writers in the ancient world were largely free of such bias, though they did tend to sneer at ‘orientals’.

Have any of these lost civilisations left a legacy in the customs or language of today?

Absolutely. Consider feet of clay, or writing on the wall (Chaldeans), the Gordian Knot and the Phrygian (liberty) cap. We call people ‘aboriginal’ because the original Aborigines were an Italian people who occupied the land where Rome now stands. The Samaritans survived for thousands of years before people started thinking of the name in terms of crisis counselling. And

we can thank the stubborn Celtiberians of Spain for starting the year on January 1 because in 153 BCE the Romans needed more time to campaign against them. (Starting the year in March didn't allow time to raise an army, fight the Celtiberians, and finish before the autumn harvest.) I could go on... and on!

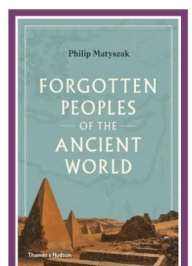
Are there any key differences in terms of preservation or record keeping that means the memory of some cultures has survived much better than others?

Take the Etruscans: they were the dominant culture in north Italy before the Romans, yet we know almost nothing about them because the few records that they left are largely incomprehensible. The last known reader of Etruscan was the emperor Claudius. On the other hand, the Assyrians wrote on clay tablets, and baked clay is almost indestructible (you can break it, but the pieces survive). So we know and study the Assyrians much more than the

Etruscans. Egyptology really took off after it became possible to decipher hieroglyphics. Had the Greek and Roman texts written on papyrus survived, we might have a different view of those civilisations. Also consider that all written sources for four centuries of British history 500-900 are way fewer than those for ancient Rome 63 BCE - 14 CE (the lifetime of Emperor Augustus) and you can see why the memory of Augustus has outlived that of King Æthelwulf (reigned 839-858).

Is there anything that historians and archaeologists can be doing now to make sure these and other civilisations are not lost any more?

Probably not - and there's something oddly reassuring about that. It's a reminder that our present culture and the civilisation of today are not the climax of history but just another chapter in an ongoing story. In a millennium or three, few might remember ‘Ancient London’, even as archaeologists (possibly in scuba gear) excavate the ruins of New York. Nineveh and Akkad - the centres of civilisation in their day - are gone; Akkad so comprehensively it remains lost even now. But the story of humanity goes on and will continue when our culture also is but a fading memory. ○



Forgotten Peoples Of The Ancient World by Philip Matyszak is available now from Thames & Hudson

PIONEERS OF PRIDE



AS THE WORLD CELEBRATES INTERNATIONAL PRIDE, WE LOOK
AT TEN HEROES WHO DEVOTED THEIR LIVES TO SEEKING
EQUALITY FOR THE LGBT+ COMMUNITY

WRITTEN BY CALLUM MCKELVIE



The very first Pride parade took place on Saturday 27 June 1970 in New York City. A year earlier, the Stonewall riots had taken place when LGBT+ individuals stood up against police raids at the Stonewall Inn gay bar on Christopher Street in Greenwich Village. The shadow of this event would loom long and large over the LGBT+ community and the following year the Christopher Street Liberation Day march was held. Proposed as a demonstration against the unfair treatment of LGBT+ individuals and as a campaign for greater rights, anywhere between 3,000 and 20,000 people are said to have participated. Today, Pride month is celebrated throughout the world and is

a chance for the LGBT+ community to be recognised, share their experiences and to continue the fight against discrimination and prejudice.

In 2020, much has changed and true equality can seem far closer than it must have in 1970. Yet the greater recognition that we see today would not have occurred without the hard work and sheer bravery of millions of LGBT+ people. Throughout the centuries, numerous groups and activists have made immeasurable sacrifices and fought against incredible odds to love and live freely and without fear. Here, we celebrate ten people whose work and courage has helped gain greater recognition for the community as a whole.

KARL HEINRICH ULRICHS

1825-1895

One of the forefathers of the modern gay rights movement, German lawyer and author Karl Heinrich Ulrichs was arguably the first individual to publicly 'come out'. Born in 1825, Ulrichs often felt different from other boys and, despite having his first sexual encounter at the age of 14, kept his homosexuality secret for many years. Graduating in history and Latin in 1848, he began his law career in the district of Hildesheim. However, in 1862 he would use his spare time to compose a series of landmark essays on the subject of homosexuality, collected as *Studies On The Riddle Of Male-Male Love*. Written initially under a pseudonym, Ulrichs' papers caused an enormous scandal. Sensing an opportunity to capitalise

on this controversy and speak openly, Ulrichs took the unprecedented step of publishing successive works under his own name - a decision that would cost him his career as a lawyer. Undeterred, in 1857 he presented a case to the Congress of German Jurists for the repeal of anti-homosexual laws. Ulrichs faced constant struggle, with his books repeatedly banned or confiscated, and he himself was briefly imprisoned. Believing he had done all he could in Germany, he went into self-imposed exile in Naples, Italy, where he would pass away a short time later in 1895. Now recognised for their huge impact, Ulrichs' writings were the first to argue that homosexuality was an inborn 'condition' and not a learnt 'corruption'.

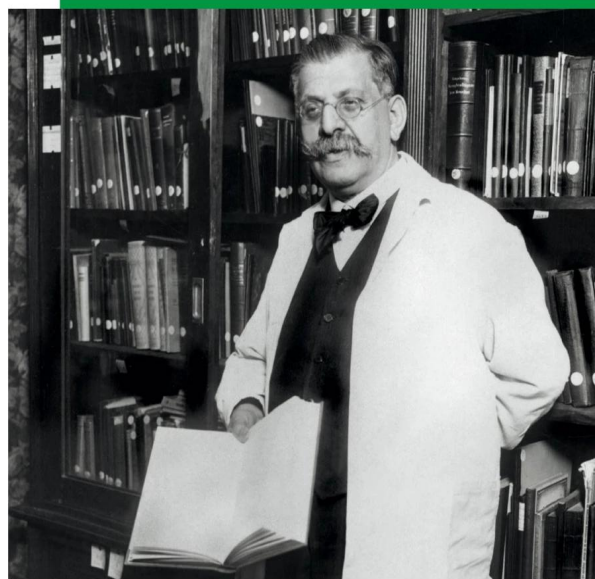


MAGNUS HIRCHSFELD

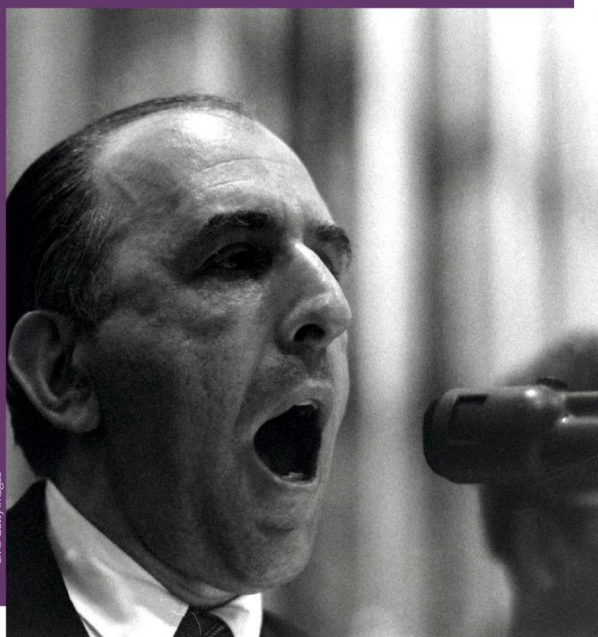
1868-1935

Born in 1868 to a Jewish family in Poland, Magnus Hirschfeld studied hard to become a physician, and early in his career moved to Berlin. A closeted homosexual himself, he would become deeply sympathetic to LGBT+ minorities and founded the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee. This organisation fought hard to end the criminalisation of homosexuality in Germany and raised awareness about the high rate of suicide among homosexuals. In 1919 he founded the Institute for Sexual

Science, which provided support and advice, as well as carrying out research. A committed feminist, he would also campaign for the right for contraception and sex education. After the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933, Hirschfeld's institute was raided and its documentation burnt. He himself was away on a lecture tour and never returned to the country. Hirschfeld would die of a heart attack in 1935, his immense legacy only now being rediscovered and appreciated.



FRANK KAMENY 1925-2011



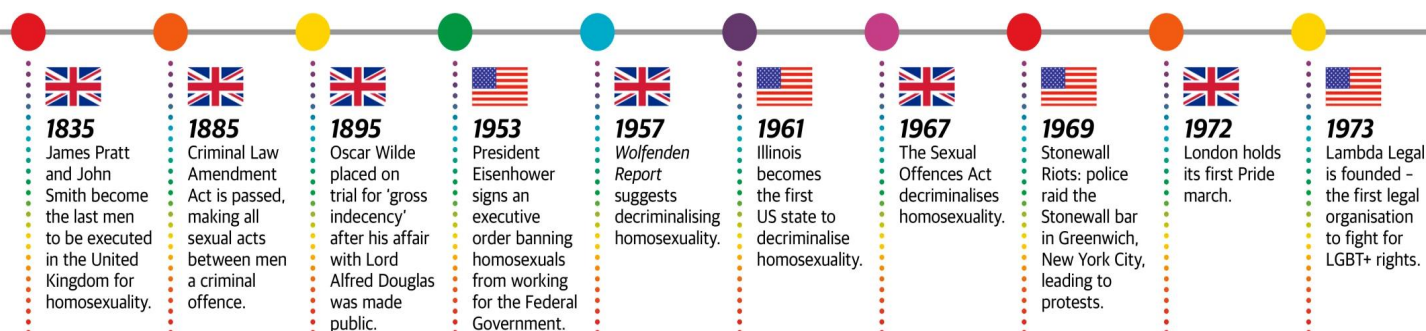
In 1957, due to his sexuality, Frank Kameny was dismissed from his position as an astronomer in the US Army's Map Service. Kameny, however, was not someone to let injustices go unanswered and immediately devoted his life to activism. After having his initial appeals rejected, he began a 60-year campaign against the prejudice and inequality directed towards homosexuals. He started by joining the Mattachine Society, founded in 1950 and one of the earliest gay rights organisations in the United States. In 1961 Kameny worked with the society to launch a campaign of pickets targeting some of the centres of power. This began with a picket line outside the White House in 1965, and then expanded to target The Pentagon, United States Civil Service Commission and Philadelphia's Independence Hall. Parallel to this Kameny was campaigning to overturn the US

government's sodomy laws and personally drafted a Bill that would finally pass in 1993. In 1971 he became the first openly gay candidate to run for Congress and when defeated, created the lobbying group The Gay And Lesbian Activists Alliance Of Washington D.C.

One of Kameny's greatest victories involved his tireless work to remove the classification of homosexuality as a mental disorder by the American Psychiatric Association. In 1972, he convinced the association to hold a debate entitled Psychiatry: Friend Or Foe To The Homosexual? After many homosexual psychiatrists refused, Kameny was able to persuade Dr John E Fryer to testify and the following year the society's *Diagnostic And Statistical Manual Of Mental Disorders* was amended. To LGBT+ people around the world, Kameny is a reminder to never give up and never give in.

TIMELINE OF LGBT+ RIGHTS

SOME OF THE MILESTONES IN THE FIGHT FOR LGBT+ RIGHTS IN THE UK AND USA



CHRISTINE JORGENSEN 1926-1989

"Christine Jorgensen was the first person to become globally famous for having what was then called 'sex change' surgery," says Susan Stryker, professor of gender studies at Yale University. "Born in 1926 in New York to Danish-American parents, she'd always felt feminine as a child and struggled with questions of identity and sexuality. She felt strongly that she wasn't a homosexual man and was attracted to men as a woman."

Jorgensen discovered the possibility of using hormonal treatments to change the appearance of the body. Finding a way to access estradiol, she experimented on herself before a doctor friend suggested that she seek medical treatment in Europe. In 1952, she underwent surgery in Copenhagen.

Stryker first became interested in the Jorgensen story when she was in her teens:

"JORGENSEN WAS VERY MUCH A PIONEER IN BEING PUBLIC ABOUT HER IDENTITY"

"Renee Richards, the trans ophthalmologist-turned-tennis-pro, was having her big media moment in the 1970s. Newspaper coverage of her would mention that she was the highest-profile transsexual since Christine Jorgensen. That alerted me to the fact that there was something that might be called 'transgender history'. When I was socially transitioning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, as I was finishing my PhD in US history, I decided I wanted to look into Jorgensen's career more deeply, as a kind of 'tip of the iceberg' that could take me towards a submerged and unrecovered trans history."

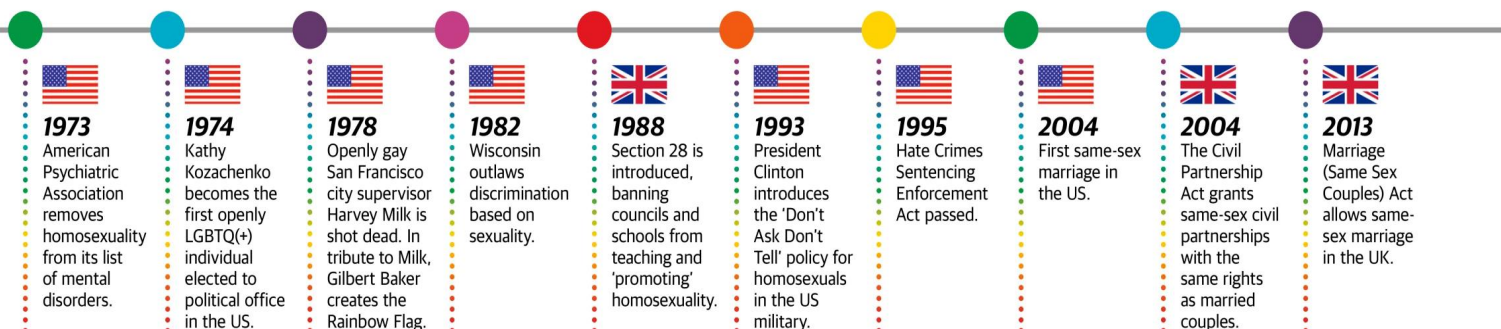
After her surgery, Jorgensen became something of a media sensation. "It seems that Jorgensen herself leaked her

story to the press, though she publicly denied this throughout her life," Stryker explains. "The story immediately became a global sensation. However, whilst the press coverage started out being relatively euphoric and ecstatic - reporting on a marvel of the age - it gradually became sensationalistic and exploitative. By the summer of 1953, the reporting questioned whether she was 'really' a man and insinuated that it was some kind of publicity stunt. It made crude jokes and promulgated ill-formed distinctions between physical intersex conditions, homosexuality and transvestism, arguing Jorgensen couldn't be who she said she was. But she never entirely left the public spotlight. She had a career as a nightclub entertainer for a decade, wrote a best-selling autobiography and had a successful career on the college lecture circuit.



questions to the relevant professionals. And in later years she appeared at fundraisers for AIDS charities. She was less a firebrand activist than a person who sought to live an open and proud life that could be emulated by others."

Stryker adds that Jorgensen has a mixed legacy: "On one hand, she's remembered as a brave pioneer. On the other hand, she's critiqued for her unacknowledged white privilege, her US-centrism, her perpetuation of beauty norms, her tendency to exoticise the many foreign places she travelled in a frankly orientalist or colonialist manner, the way her defensiveness about not being a gay man could sometimes shade into homophobia, and her quiet 'good girl' public persona. All of those critiques have merit. As a historian, I think it's also important to recognize the ways that people were a product of their times without excusing them, and to understand what made them significant in their historical context."





FACING THE CHALLENGES OF TODAY

WE SPEAK TO THE TREVOR PROJECT ABOUT THEIR IMPORTANT WORK

What is The Trevor Project?

The Trevor Project is the world's largest suicide prevention and crisis intervention organization for LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and questioning) young people.

Tell us about how the organisation came into being?

In 1994, a short film titled *Trevor* was released and it went on to win the Academy Award for Best Live Action Short Film. Upon securing an airing of the short film on HBO with Ellen DeGeneres hosting, the creators of *Trevor* discovered that there was no real place for young people like Trevor to turn to when facing similar challenges around LGBTQ identity. The Trevor Project was officially founded on 25 March, 1998. And on 11 August, 1998, *Trevor* was broadcast on HBO alongside the launch of TrevorLifeline, the first 24/7 national lifeline supporting LGBTQ youth who are in crisis. The first phone calls were answered that night.

Could you explain some of the reasons why suicide rates are high among LGBT+ youth?

LGBTQ young people are not prone to suicide because of their sexual orientation or gender identity – they are at a higher risk of suicidality because of increased experiences of internalized stigma, discrimination and rejection from others. The Trevor Project estimates over 1.8 million LGBTQ youth between the ages of 13 and 24 in the US seriously consider suicide each year. And based on data from the Centers For Disease Control And Prevention, we know that LGBTQ youth are more than four-times more likely to attempt suicide compared to their peers. But we also know from our research that LGBTQ youth who report having at least one accepting adult were 40% less likely to report a suicide attempt in the past year.

What are some examples of the work carried out by The Trevor Project?

For the last 22 years, The Trevor Project has worked to save young lives by providing support

through free and confidential suicide prevention and crisis intervention programmes on platforms where young people spend their time: a 24/7 phone lifeline, chat and text. The organization also runs TrevorSpace, the world's largest safe space social networking site for LGBTQ youth, and operates innovative education, research and advocacy programmes.



THE **TREVOR** PROJECT
Saving Young LGBTQ Lives

THE DAUGHTERS OF BILITIS

VALERIE TAYLOR 1913-1997

PHYLLIS LYON (1924-2020) AND DEL MARTIN (1921-2008)

BARBARA GITTINGS 1932-2007



One of the largest innovations during the LGBT+ rights movement of the 1950s to the 1970s was the use of writing. The Daughters Of Bilitis, a US-based lesbian activist group that began in 1955, published *The Ladder*, a highly successful magazine. *The Ladder* built on a tradition of LGBT+ women using the written word to express lesbian relationships.

"Some of the women who helped bring an awareness of a lesbian lifestyle into a wider public consciousness were those who wrote pulp novels," says historian Marcia M Gallo. "Valerie Taylor, through writing about taboo subjects, formulated an idea of a woman who is not the norm, a woman outside the social structure of the era, not simply the typical housewife but who has lesbian lovers. Taylor wrote seven lesbian-themed paperback novels and became involved with the Daughters Of Bilitis and their newsletter *The Ladder*."

Gallo is the author of *Different Daughters: A History Of The Daughters Of Bilitis And The Rise Of The Lesbian Rights Movement*, and personally knew and interviewed many of its key members. "I was born in 1961 and come from Wilmington, Delaware. I grew up Catholic, went to Catholic school but it was the 1970s and I started to realise that there was a big world out there," she explains. "I moved to

San Francisco with friends and I started to explore lesbian relationships myself. Here, I worked at the American Civil Liberties Union, one of the few places where you could be out, so many women and men who were part of the early gay rights movement were members. Through my work with ACLU, I was able to meet Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin, two of the founders of the Daughters Of Bilitis."

The Ladder began in 1956 to publicise the activities of the group, which were almost strictly social. "They really wanted

had been this little broadsheet into a well-respected magazine.

"One of the women who had one of the biggest impacts on the magazine was Barbara Gittings, who started editing in 1963. Her first innovation was to put 'Lesbian Review' on the cover. She wanted it to be clear that this was a magazine by and for lesbians, which was very controversial within the organisation, but she prevailed. Her second innovation was to put photographs of real lesbians on the cover. They decided they wanted

"SOME OF THE WOMEN WHO HELPED BRING AN AWARENESS OF A LESBIAN LIFESTYLE INTO A WIDER PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS WERE THOSE WHO WROTE PULP NOVELS"

a place where women could gather together with other women safely, meet friends, lovers, and have a community," Gallo says. "Initially, it was secret and it was only when they were having difficulty getting members that they put something in writing that explained what they were about. So that was the genesis of the first ongoing lesbian magazine, running until 1972. They were able to publish some really bad poetry, as well as some really amazing short stories from both budding and famous authors. They turned what

to show the women who were part of the organisation and the lesbian rights movement. That was a huge change at that time. As a result many writers started to shift from pseudonyms to coming out and being open about who they were.

"*The Ladder* also helped introduce American readers to *Arena Three* magazine and the work of the Minorities Research Group. It really had this phenomenal impact and laid the basis for a number of other publications to rise up throughout the 1970s and 1980s."

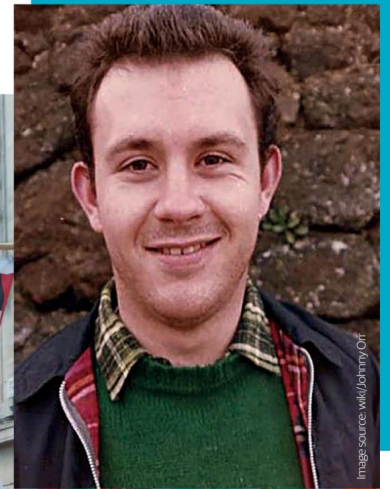
JACKIE FORSTER 1926-1998



Born in 1926, Jackie Forster was 21 when she had her first lesbian experience. An actress, news reporter and activist, she had been living and travelling the US. Returning to the UK in 1964, she became involved in the Minorities Research Group and wrote occasionally for their pioneering publication *Arena Three*. It was the closure of this in 1971 that would inspire her to create *Sappho*. Named after the poet Sappho of the island of Lesbos, the magazine had a more progressive feminist voice than its predecessor. Forster would distribute the magazine in venues such as Gateways (a London nightclub and the oldest lesbian club in the world), and at its height *Sappho* had a circulation of 1,000. In her later years Forster was instrumental in the work of the Lesbian Archive And Information Centre. Unapologetic and not afraid to say the truth just as she saw it, Forster fought tirelessly against stereotypes and oppression.

MARK ASHTON 1960-1987

Mark Ashton was only 23 when he co-founded Lesbians And Gays Support The Miners, whose story was told in the 2014 film *Pride*. A committed socialist, he was a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain and general secretary of the Young Communist League. LGSM was formed with longtime friend Mike Jackson in 1984 after both expressed anger at the Thatcher administration's response to the miners strikes in which all donations to the National Union of Mineworkers were at this point sequestered as part of a Government's strategy to tackle the strikes. As such, groups supporting the miners were encouraged to 'twin' themselves with a specific mining community, providing direct support instead. LGSM was twinned with Neath, Dulais and the Swansea Valleys Support Groups. The support LGSM provided was unprecedented and culminated in the Pits and Perverts benefit concert headlined by Bronski Beat, not only helping to raise funds for the miners but also providing greater awareness of LGBT+ groups. In 1985 the National Union of Miners attended London Pride and lead the parade, and in 1988 joined a campaign to stop Section 28. Ashton passed away in 1987 after being diagnosed with HIV.



M A R S H A P J O H N S O N 1945-1992

A founding member of the Gay Liberation Front and a key instigator in the Stonewall Riots, self-identifying drag queen Marsha P Johnson was a pioneer of LGBT+ activism. In 1970 she founded STAR (Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries), a radical political collective that also provided housing and support to homeless LGBT+ people. Working alongside friend and fellow activist Sylvia Rivera both, due to their LGBT+ identities, had regularly

experienced homelessness themselves. Often, when they were able to stay in a hotel room, they would sneak homeless friends in, supposedly up to 50 in a room. The intent of STAR was to obtain a building that could be used to provide temporary respite for such individuals. After hosting a dance, they were able to purchase a rundown four-bedroom apartment that they worked to repair and refurbish. The STAR house lasted only a year, but was influential in its concept.

The movement then shifted its focus and sought greater recognition for trans individuals, not only within society at large but within the gay liberation movement itself. STAR would see a sharp decline in the following years but Johnson continued her activism for the LGBT+ community with the AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power, or ACT UP. Known for her optimistic attitude, no-matter the prejudice she faced, Johnson would regularly state that the 'P' stood for 'Pay it no mind'.

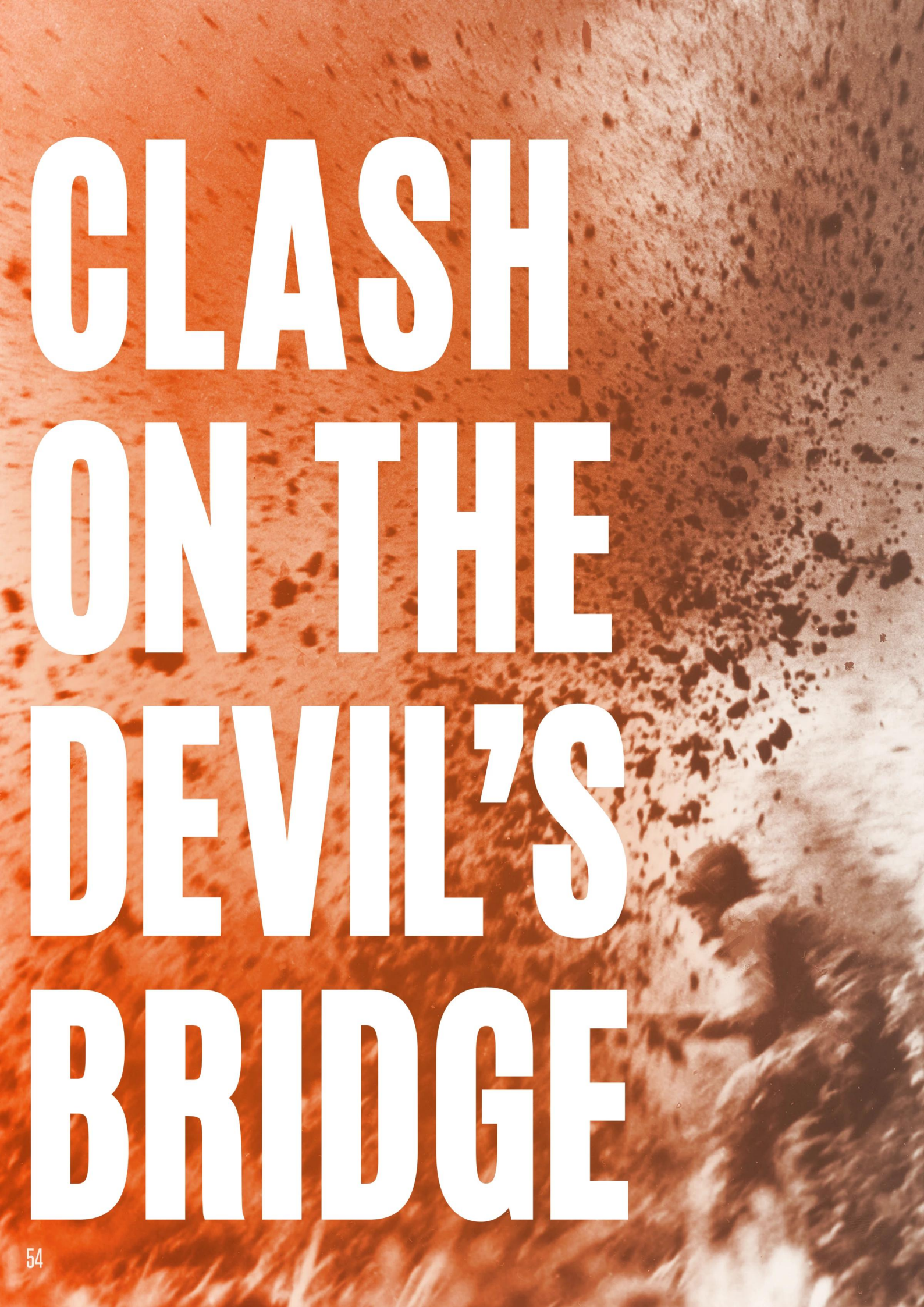


W H E R E W E A R E T O D A Y

The LGBT+ community has come a long way and achieved much since that first Pride march in June 1970. Yet it would be wrong to suggest that hatred towards individuals has gone away. As of 2020, 72 countries still criminalise same-sex relationships. In eight of these countries, homosexuality is punishable by the death penalty, or evidence exists of its use. In the United Kingdom, reports released in 2019 revealed an increase in

homophobic crimes of 144% from 2013-14. This involved 11,600 individual crimes - more than double the 4,600 recorded before - while transphobic attacks rose from 550 to 1,600. When acknowledging this hatred, we must also recognise that there is still a vast amount of work to be done. The people listed here are a stark reminder of the importance of this fight and the bravery shown throughout the history of LGBT+ activism. 🌈

"THE PEOPLE LISTED HERE ARE A STARK REMINDER OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS FIGHT AND THE BRAVERY SHOWN THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF LGBT+ ACTIVISM"



CLASH ON THE DEVIL'S BRIDGE

We reassess Operation Market Garden with Anthony Tucker-Jones from the perspective of its German victors

Written by Callum McKelvie

Operation Market Garden has become infamous as the great Allied failure of World War II. Immortalised in the 1977 film *A Bridge Too Far* and the Cornelius Ryan book upon which it is based, whose very title has become symbolic of the perceived optimism of the operation, it is firmly lodged in the public consciousness as an unprecedented disaster. The brainchild of Field Marshal Montgomery, the intention was to create a 64-mile salient into northern Germany. Once achieved the Allies would be able to strike directly into the Rhine, the German industrial heartland, and bring an end to the war. Unfortunately, despite both Montgomery and Winston Churchill claiming the operation was successful, it failed to achieve its core objective. To this day the operation remains controversial, with many questioning the logic and planning. Beset by bad weather, the Allies failed to cross the Rhine and some 15-17,000 Allied troops died in the operation. However, Market Garden is almost universally thought of as an Allied failure instead of a German victory, with many focussing on the effect of bad weather and poor planning as opposed to German tactics. Military historian Anthony Tucker-Jones' new book *The Devil's Bridge: The German Victory At Arnhem, 1944* from Osprey Publishing seeks to redress this issue and focuses on the assault from a German perspective.

What inspired you to write your latest book *The Devil's Bridge: The German Victory at Arnhem, 1944* and why the rather unique approach?

Years ago I read Cornelius Ryan's ground-breaking book *A Bridge Too Far* and watched Richard Attenborough's movie version. Together they ensured Arnhem very firmly caught the public's imagination. However, these (as well as subsequent studies) always seemed to concentrate on Allied mistakes rather than how the Germans achieved their victory. In a way, this suggests the Germans won by default, but that is wholly unfair and certainly not the complete picture. What I wanted to do was put the reader right in the middle of the action from the German perspective. To the best of my knowledge this has only really been attempted once before with Robert Kershaw's excellent *It Never Snows In September*, which was published about three decades ago.

What particularly inspired me was this mental image of Field Marshal Walter Model happily sitting down to lunch with a nice glass of wine on Sunday 17 September 1944, only to be interrupted by the abrupt arrival of British paratroopers. I was intrigued by what happened next. Some historians claim he fled in panic, but that is simply not true. Instead he very calmly consulted his commanders and set about systematically destroying Operation Market Garden.

Did you find it a challenge writing about the Battle of Arnhem purely from the German viewpoint?

Yes, I did. Certainly the biggest challenge was making it a coherent and engaging story. A page-turner, if you will. Once

I had my cast of German characters it became much easier because you then follow the battle through their eyes and experience what they experience. I was also able to draw out elements of the battle that have been ignored or underplayed in the past. For example, the major German counter-attacks launched from the Reichswald Forest against the Americans at Nijmegen.

Can you briefly outline Operation Market Garden, the thinking behind it and its main points?

By mid-September 1944 the German army was in full flight across northern Europe. Just a few weeks earlier it had suffered a crushing defeat in Normandy at Falaise, losing a quarter of a million men. It had also suffered a similar defeat on the eastern front that summer. This success, certainly in the West, lulled the Allies into a false sense of security. They could not conceive that the Germans might recover – after all, they were being easily driven from France, Belgium and The Netherlands. Field Marshal Montgomery came up with Market Garden, which would see his ground forces leapfrog over American and British airborne divisions to capture a bridge over the Rhine at Arnhem. From there he would strike into the Rhur, Germany's industrial heartland, and overrun Hitler's weapons factories. The war could be over by Christmas – or so he hoped.

What condition was the II SS Panzer Corps in prior to the fighting at Arnhem?

The SS Panzer Corps was a central player and the Dutch resistance knew all about its presence. The 9th SS and 10th SS panzer divisions in the Arnhem area were in a terrible state after their mauling in Normandy. Although they had not been caught in the Falaise pocket they had lost most of their manpower and equipment. The 9th SS was just about to be shipped back to Germany to re-equip, so they were not expecting a fight. Most of the other SS units in the vicinity were understrength training battalions or unreliable Dutch SS concentration camp guards. However, the 16th SS Panzergrenadier training battalion was well equipped and would cause the British 1st Airborne Division a major headache by getting between Arnhem and Oosterbeek, thereby slowing their advance.

Who were some of the key German figures in the Battle of Arnhem? Who was Wilhelm Bittrich and what exactly was his role?

Army Group B was commanded by Field Marshal Walter Model, a veteran of the fighting on the eastern front. To use an American expression, he was 'a tough son of a bitch' and not easily rattled. In Russia he regularly plucked victory from the jaws of disaster. SS-General 'Willi' Bittrich was in command of the



“D-DAY TOOK YEARS OF PLANNING BUT MARKET GARDEN WAS COBBLED TOGETHER IN TWO WEEKS”

II SS Panzer Corps and again was a very able military commander. His divisional commanders SS-Brigadier Heinz Harmel and SS-Lieutenant Colonel Walter Hauser were also both highly experienced and competent officers. Add to this mix General Kurt Student, the father of Hitler's tough airborne forces, who had just been appointed to command the newly established 1st Parachute Army, and it was very clear that the Allies potentially had their hands full. These battle-hardened men would do everything in their power to stop Monty.

What were some of the key events and tactics from a German perspective?

The German defence of Antwerp in Belgium was nonexistent and the city easily fell into Allied hands in early September. However, Monty foolishly failed to conduct a left hook into Beveland and Walcheren – if he had this would have trapped the German 15th Army to the south of the Scheldt Estuary. Instead it was able to conduct a highly successful airborne evacuation, which provided troops to help attack the western flank of the Market Garden corridor. These men, along with Student's paratroopers, proved instrumental in helping create what was dubbed 'Hell's Highway'. Throughout the battle the Germans proved highly adept at putting together battlegroups from very disparate units who nonetheless fought with great

ABOVE American troops march through the ruins of Nijmegen

RIGHT British transport supplies at Nijmegen bridge

FAR-RIGHT The impressive parachute landings used in the Allied operation

BELOW-RIGHT A scene from the 1977 film adaptation of Cornelius Ryan's 1974 book *A Bridge Too Far*

FAR-LEFT General Walter Model and his generals discuss their plan the battle



Clash On The Devil's Bridge



tenacity and ferocity. These included airmen, clerks, sailors and even pensioners.

How were the SS units, who were withdrawing to Germany, able to mobilise so quickly?

This is a good question because the 9th SS, who were heading home, had taken the wheels and tracks off all their vehicles having declared them non-operational so they didn't have to hand them over to the 10th SS. What this meant was it took time to fix everything once the American and British airborne forces started to arrive. However, they had enough vehicles to send various battle groups south to Nijmegen and Eindhoven. One of the Germans' biggest mistakes was pushing a reconnaissance unit back over Arnhem bridge after it had been captured by 1st Airborne. What followed was essentially a massacre.

What was the role of the Polish 1st Parachute Brigade and what happened to them?

Once Model had retaken Arnhem bridge he was able to push more of his troops into the Betuwe, the land between the Rhine and the Waal rivers. He had also retaken the high ground north of the Rhine. The Poles were supposed to land just south of the Rhine and then reinforce the British 1st Airborne at Arnhem. But by the time they arrived the Germans had retaken the city and 1st Airborne was trapped at Oosterbeek. The Germans fortified the north-south railway embankment so the Poles could not reach



the bridge. They bravely attempted to paddle over the river only to be met by German machineguns and mortars, and very few of them made it.

At what point did the Allies decide to retreat? What were the key turning points in the battle?

There were lots of factors that led to the failure of Market Garden, but to my mind the key ones are the recapture of Arnhem and the dogged German defence at Nijmegen. The latter cost British 30th Corps valuable time. By the time it got over the Waal the survivors at Oosterbeek were on the verge of being completely overrun. After piercing German defences in the Betuwe, 30th Corps tried getting reinforcements over the Rhine but it was a pointless exercise by that stage.

The Allied plan is still hotly debated, with many questioning their tactics and strategies. How much do you believe this contributed to the German victory?

It remains incredibly controversial even today. When you consider that D-Day took years of planning and that Market Garden was cobbled together in two weeks it's not difficult to see why it failed so spectacularly. It was a gamble that could have worked if the conditions had been right, but they weren't. Montgomery's biggest failing was to underestimate his opponents. Of all people he should have known better. Although he knew that II SS Panzer Corps was at Arnhem he simply refused to believe it would fight. Likewise, he refused to consider what would happen once 15th Army and 1st Parachute Army deployed on the flanks of 30th Corps' corridor. Model and Bittrich very professionally rallied their forces and delayed the Allies long enough to retake Arnhem, force 1st Airborne to evacuate and stall 30th Corps in the Betuwe. Their response was quite frankly exemplary.

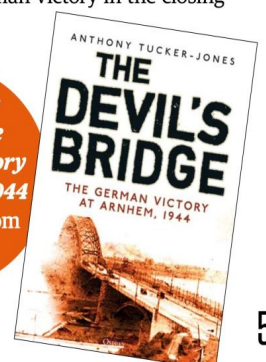
How was Arnhem and Market Garden perceived by the German High Command?

Bearing in mind that the battle only lasted nine days the Germans didn't really give it much thought at the time. It should be remembered that fighting was still going on all along the western front. In the case of Arnhem, it had been a near run thing, but they had thwarted the Allied advance and then it was business as usual. The fighting continued in the Betuwe well into the winter, but the Allies turned their attentions further west in their bid to cross the Rhine elsewhere. The Germans held Arnhem until April 1945.

How was Arnhem and Market Garden perceived by the Allied command?

Behind the scenes with severe embarrassment. Publicly, the Allied command tried to pass Market Garden off as a partial success, but that of course was complete and utter nonsense. Without the bridge at Arnhem it was an unmitigated failure. They simply would not accept that they had been outfought. Ironically it was preferable to blame it on shoddy planning and poor intelligence than let the Germans take the credit. Yet there is no hiding Arnhem was a remarkable German victory in the closing stages of World War II. ○

The Devil's Bridge: The German Victory at Arnhem, 1944 is out now from Osprey





THE HISTORY OF THE HEADLESS HORSEMAN



The story of this headless fiend pervades modern urban legends and Halloween celebrations alike, but what's the truth behind the tale?

Written by Dee Dee Chainey

The headless horseman is a well-known figure today – one that instantly conjures Christopher Walken's grim severed head from the 1999 American gothic horror film *Sleepy Hollow*. Yet the trope has a much longer history than many imagine, and headless ghosts are a worldwide phenomena, populating folkloric tales from Europe and beyond.

Many tales tell that such ghosts are set to roam the Earth for eternity, searching in vain for their lost heads. Yet others carry their head with them, with a darker motive: to wreak vengeance for their own

deaths on any who cross their path. In other lore they are harbingers of doom. Whatever their motivations for their endless quest, the motif is a dark one that leaves anger, vengeance and death in his wake.

The Legend Of Sleepy Hollow by Washington Irving was first published in 1820, in his collection *The Sketch Book Of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent*. The tale begins by setting the scene, telling of the Dutch settlers of Tarrytown, New York, and their most famous ghost: a Hessian soldier who was beheaded by a cannonball in "a nameless war" who roams from his burial place in

the churchyard to the site of battle in search of his lost head. It develops when Ichabod Crane, a Connecticut teacher, takes on a new position in the glen of Sleepy Hollow. Ichabod seeks the hand of a young heiress, Katrina van Tassel, yet a local Dutchman, Brom Bones, has also set his sights upon the girl. Katrina rejects Ichabod one night at a party, after which he sets off on his horse. Along the way he's chased by the Headless Horseman. For the finale, the phantom throws his head at Ichabod, who disappears entirely. On searching for the man later, all that is found is a smashed pumpkin at the spot where he fell.

Many people are surprised to learn that the legend is not actually real folklore, but a work of fiction, considered 'folkloresque' - when popular culture reuses or appropriates folklore. Many trace the beginnings of Irving's story to existing Dutch traditions in the New York region. It is believed that a real-life Hessian soldier was beheaded by a cannonball in the Battle of White Plains, which took place around the Halloween of 1776. Another Dutch folktale tells of a headless horseman who appeared at Tarrytown, New York - again at Halloween. It is thought that Irving moved to the region in his younger years, and would have been well aware of the local history and legends. Irving's storytelling skills have been cited as the reason for this, along with his innate ability to blend fact with fiction.

Yet we can look to European folklore for the true origins of this murky figure. Some believe that Irving took inspiration for his tale from *The Chase* - a translation of the German poem *The Wild Huntsman* by Gottfried Bürger - written by Sir Walter Scott in 1796 and rooted in the Germanic tradition of the Wild Hunt. Indeed, a tale from Saxony collected by the Brothers Grimm tells how the Wild Huntsman himself was actually a real-life hunter before his death, only transforming into the legendary figure after beseeching God to grant him the mercy of being able to take part in his beloved hunt until the dawn of Judgement Day, which God indeed did. It is known that Irving and Scott were friends, so this is not an unlikely scenario.

Irving himself was of Cornish and Scottish descent, and travelling in Britain when he wrote the famous tale. Many claim the Irish Dullahan is the original headless horseman, and the basis for



The Legend Of *Sleepy Hollow* is not a real legend, rather it's a ghost story influenced by European folklore relating to headless horseman archetypes.

ABOVE Irving's tale mixes real locations - and even names of real people like Ichabod Crane - with local lore and fantasy to create the masterpiece many still know today

BELOW Pliny the Elder and Herodotus both tell of a mythical race of headless creatures called the Blemmyes, who had eyes and mouths on their chests

Irving's ghou. Some believe the Dullahan has origins in the bloodthirsty pre-Christian god Crom Dubh, who demanded sacrificial victims were beheaded in his honour. The spectre rides a black horse and carries a human spine as a whip. He holds his head below his other arm, with skin resembling mouldy cheese, all the while looking into the night with clear vision. Some say it shines like a lantern in the darkness. He often drives a coach pulled by headless horses - the death coach, or *Cóiste Bodhar* - lit with skulls containing candles, made

the barghest of Yorkshire to Coliunn Gun Cheann (the Headless Trunk), a monster that roamed the MacDonald lands in Scotland, mutilating travellers until one day defeated by a clansman. A headless horseman is said to gallop along between Atwick and Skipsea in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The headless horseman is not unknown in Germany, yet here he often pursues only those who have committed some dark deed. Hans Jagenteufel is a headless horseman from Saxony, whose tale is related by the Brothers Grimm. Here, the fiend tells a woman out collecting

"THOSE KILLED BY BEHEADING ARE OFTEN CONSIDERED RESTLESS SPIRITS. HEADLESS GHOSTS ABOUND IN BRITISH FOLKLORE, FROM THE BARGHEST OF YORKSHIRE TO COLIUNN GUN CHEANN (THE HEADLESS TRUNK)"

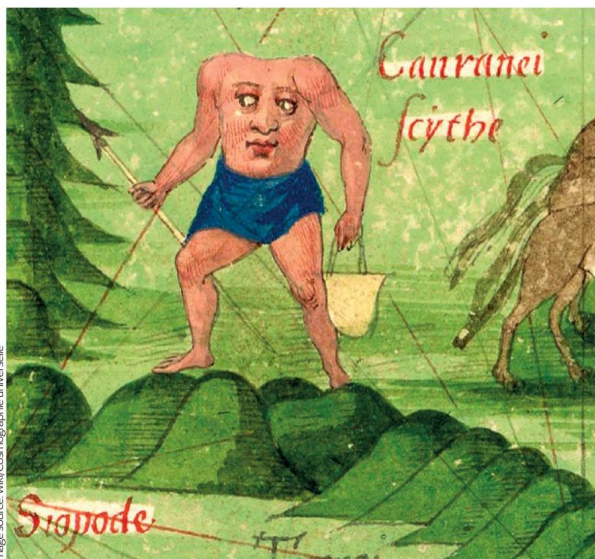
of human bones and the paraphernalia of death. It's said that when the rider stops his coach, he calls out a name into the night, and the chosen victim dies instantly. The death coach is something that appears across British and Irish lore as a death omen. The most famous character associated with it is Anne Boleyn, whose ghost is said to haunt numerous locations. One of the most striking appearances occurs at Blickling Hall in Norfolk on the anniversary of her death, 19 May. Anne is brought to her birthplace, head in lap, by a carriage pulled by four headless horses and driven by a headless horseman.

Those killed by beheading are often considered restless spirits. Headless ghosts abound in British folklore, from

acorns of his wicked life, as if his fate is his just punishment.

Yet headless horsemen are not just a European phenomena - they also appear in Asia. One Indian tale from Fyzabad tells of a whole ghostly army of eerily silent headless horsemen that appears after dark, said to belong to Prince Sayyad Sálár, and people are afraid to venture out at night. Another tale from northern India tells how a Gávli prince fought a saint, cutting off his head. Yet the body continued fighting, picked up his head, and led the army to a hill, which swallowed them up.

Chinese legends tell of Huang Di, the legendary Yellow Emperor, who battled a mysterious giant. Yet, when beheaded, the giant didn't die, but set himself to



The History Of The Headless Horseman

SIR GAWAIN AND THE GREEN KNIGHT

The Arthurian incarnation of the myth

In this 14th century Arthurian tale, Sir Gawain is challenged by a stranger clad in green who promises to give his axe to anyone who will play a game: a man must strike him, but in a year and a day the stranger will strike back. Gawain agrees, chopping off the Green Knight's head. Yet he merely picks it up and rides away. A few days before their arranged meeting, Gawain stays at a lord's castle. A bargain is struck that he will give Gawain whatever he catches on the hunt, while Gawain must give anything he himself gains. The lord's wife tries to seduce Gawain, which he resists. He gives in to her last offer: for three kisses, she will bestow a belt that will ensure his safety. Gawain then gives three kisses to the lord in return for the spoils of his hunt. The next day, Gawain binds his neck with the belt, and takes only a minor wound at the Green Knight's blow. The knight reveals that he is actually the lord, and his wife is the sorceress Morgan le Fay, and the whole thing was a charade. Despite Gawain's shame, the lord declares him the most blameless knight of all.



ABOVE Some claim that the Dullahan does not himself kill, but is an omen of death, accompanying the banshee (bean sí)

BELOW-LEFT In this early tale, the headless rider does not presage death, but does pose a moral challenge for his adversary

BELOW-RIGHT The ghost of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, is said to still roam around the library of St John's College, Oxford, kicking his head in front of him

the task of finding his head. The emperor hid the head inside a mountain. At this, the giant forced himself to see through his nipples and carried on fighting, becoming a symbol of steadfastness. This mirrors one of the oldest and best-known English examples of a headless rider, *Sir Gawain And The Green Knight*.

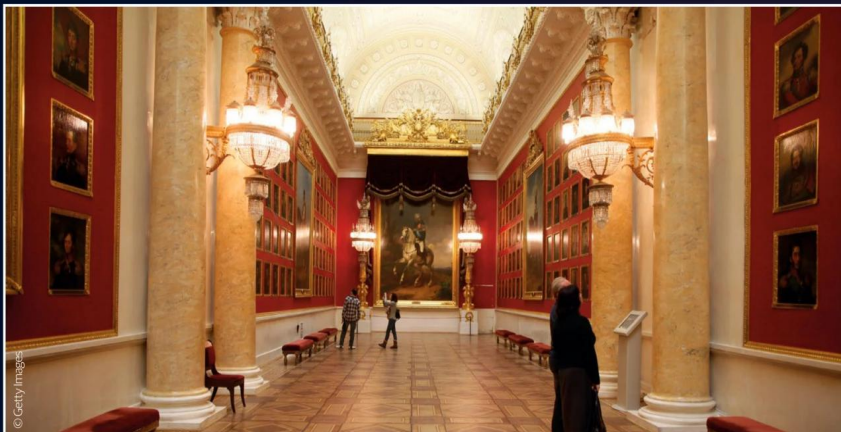
Saints are notoriously good at remaining alive after decapitation. Martyrs who suffer this fate are usually depicted carrying their heads, known as cephalophores. *The Golden Legend* tells the tale of St Denis, who walked from Montmartre to the Basilica of Saint-Denis in Paris – his severed head preaching the whole while. The 8th-century *Passio* of St Justus of Beauvais tells a heart-wrenching tale in which the nine-year-old saint was decapitated by the Romans. His body was found cradling his head by his own father, at which the saint asked for it to be taken back to his mother to receive a final kiss.

We can't help but wonder if the head is an inherent symbol of transition, of existing in some liminal place between life and death. It is believed that removing the head from the body keeps the person's spirit in limbo, preventing them from existing fully in either realm, and keeps them tied to a place as acting guardian. In British folklore, many examples of guardian skulls exist, and indigenous Australian tradition says that if a corpse is buried without the head the spirit can never rest. We might see why some horsemen wander the Earth still, searching for their lost heads. Yet many scholars suggest that, in European

folklore, decapitation is often used to bind the restless dead, to make sure that their spirits do not return – particularly in cases where a person is thought to be evil, a criminal, or a vampire. Nineteenth century accounts from North Yorkshire tell of heads being cut off people who have committed atrocious deeds, and then placed between their legs.

Some suggest that the figure of the headless horseman tells a tale of revenge and retribution. We do see themes of injustice and revenge in the endless search for the lost head, and justice meted out. Speaking on a deeper level, some say the tales tell of how people want to flee their past, yet it always haunts them. So, while tales of headless ghouls lurk around every dark corner, we can also muster some sympathy for the headless dead and the restless fate they endure. Try to remember this when the nights turn dark – and try not to lose your own head with fear! ○





THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM

Location: St Petersburg

Address: bit.ly/AHHHermitageMuseum

◀ With a collection that comprises over three million works of art and artefacts of world culture, the State Hermitage Museum is one of the largest museums in the world. It has various virtual tours for you to sink your teeth into, including tours of museum complexes such as The Winter Palace of Peter I and The Hermitage Theatre as well as numerous exhibitions such as The Age Of Rembrandt And Vermeer: Masterpieces Of The Leiden Collection. If you want to, you can even take a walk outside of the main museum complex and view areas like the Palace Embankment and the Winter Canal.

AMAZING VIRTUAL MUSEUMS

Take a step back in time and explore the world from the comfort of your own home with these historical virtual tours and online exhibits

During these unprecedented times, the power of technology has been utilised more than ever to help the world stay connected amongst all the uncertainty. Over the years, an increasing number of museums have been investing in

digital alternatives that allow members of the public to explore their institutions easily - these virtual visits are perfect for anyone who wants to immerse themselves in the world of history, especially while so many of us are required

to spend more time at home than ever before. So grab a cup of tea (or any drink of your choice), settle in and take yourself on a leisurely stroll into the past with our list of seven virtual museums that you need to visit!



ANNE FRANK HOUSE

Location: Amsterdam

Address: bit.ly/AAHAnneFrank

◀ The Anne Frank House has many ways for you to explore its museum digitally, starting with a 360° virtual tour of the house where Anne and her family lived before they went into hiding, plus a companion exhibit on Google Arts & Culture. The museum also has a video diary series about Anne based on her diary. For those of you with a VR system, the free Anne Frank House VR app provides a virtual reality tour of the secret annex where Anne hid between 1942 and 1944.

GEORGIAN PAPERS PROGRAMME

Location: Windsor

Address: bit.ly/AAHGeorgianPapers

▲ The Georgian Papers Programme offers free access to the extensive collection of Georgian papers held in the Royal Archives and Royal Library at Windsor. Official and private historical manuscripts can be viewed online, providing insight into the Georgian monarchy. The Programme also includes virtual exhibits, such as The Essays Of George III: An Enlightened Monarch?

BENAKI MUSEUM

Location: Athens

Address: bit.ly/AAHBenakiMuseum

► Take a wander around the Benaki Museum and explore its galleries with a 360° virtual tour. You can feast your eyes on the museum's permanent collection of ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine art, from prehistory to the 20th century, all while accompanied by audio tours, which are available in six languages: Greek, English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese. It's also possible to virtually visit the Ghika Gallery, which has numerous first edition books of Greek literature, and the Yannis Pappas Studio, the residence of sculptor and painter Yannis Pappas.



Image source: wiki/Google Cultural Institute



Image source: wiki/Belmont7

MUSEI VATICANI

Location: Vatican City

Address: bit.ly/AAHMuseiVaticani

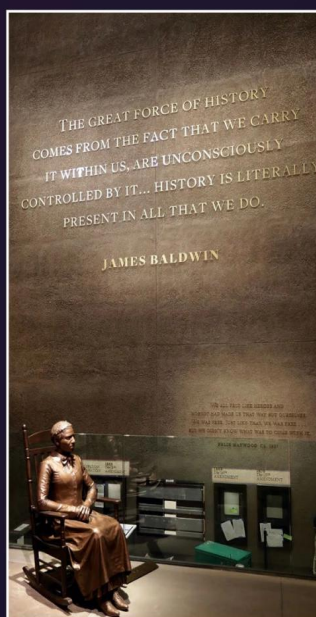
► One of the biggest tourist attractions in the world, the Vatican museums are visited by millions of people every year. Now you can explore the Pio Clementino Museum, the New Wing, the Nicoline Chapel, the Chiaramonti Museum, the Room of the Chiaroscuro, Raphael's Rooms and Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel thanks to seven free 360° virtual tours, browsing the masterpieces in each one in high definition. If you want more information about items, check out the official Instagram account, @vaticanmuseums, where a different object is discussed every day.

NMAAHC

Location: Washington D.C.

Address: bit.ly/AAH_NMAAHC

► The newest museum of the Smithsonian, the National Museum Of African American History & Culture is the only museum in the US devoted exclusively to the documentation of African American life, history and culture. You can discover objects from its collection online and even listen to stories from staff members who share the artefacts that are historically and culturally important to them, such as the training robe and headgear of Muhammad Ali. There are also online exhibitions to explore, including Double Victory: The African American Military Experience.



THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Location: London

Address: bit.ly/AAHBritishMuseum

► Thanks to Google Arts & Culture, you can stay at home and explore over 7,000 objects from the British Museum plus a range of online exhibitions such as Celtic Life In Iron Age Britain and Buddhist Art In Myanmar. You can also take a virtual walk around the museum's galleries using Google Street View, which will enable you to see the numerous artefacts on display, including the Rosetta Stone. There are also audio tours given by the museum curators available on Apple Music or Google Play.



2x © Getty Images



Greatest Battles

BATTLE OF MANZIKERT

ARMENIA, 26 AUGUST 1071

Written by William E Welsh

When Byzantine emperor Romanos IV Diogenes assembled the imperial army in Anatolia shortly after he came to power on 1 January 1068, he was shocked at what he saw. The imperial standards were tattered and grimy, many of the infantrymen were armed with scythes or pruning hooks, and the cavalry was dismounted because it had not been furnished with horses. Furthermore, the emperor would need to hire additional foreign mercenaries to bring it up to strength in the face of a severe manpower shortage.

The army was so downtrodden that it would take several months at least to re-equip it for battle against the Seljuk Turks who plundered Anatolian cities nearly unopposed. The Christian Armenians who lived under Byzantine rule had become war-



Seljuk sultan Alp Arslan decides the fate of captured Byzantine emperor Romanos IV Diogenes while his troops mop up the battlefield

weary and harboured deep doubts about the Byzantines' ability to defend them. Indeed, the frail empire was on the verge of a major disaster unless immediate steps were taken to strengthen frontier outposts in Byzantium's easternmost provinces that bordered Seljuk vassal states.

A PROVEN COMMANDER

Upon the death of Constantine X Dukas in 1067, Empress Eudocia married Imperial general Romanos Diogenes to help her protect the empire during the minority of her son Michael Dukas. Her primary reason for choosing Romanos over other candidates was her faith in his ability to restore the military to its former glory so that it could put an end to the embarrassing Seljuk raids of the Byzantine interior.

Eudocia's new husband hailed from a distinguished aristocratic Cappadocian family whose members had a long tradition of imperial military service. He had made a name for himself in successful campaigns against the Pechenegs in the Balkans. He was handsome, fearless and courageous, yet he could also be arrogant, cruel and intolerant. He was at a disadvantage from the first days of his reign because the Dukas family detested him and immediately began undermining his authority.

THE GREAT SELJUKS

The Seljuks were one of 24 nomadic warrior clans that shared the Turkic Oghuz language and lived in the steppe regions of Transoxiana in Central Asia. The influence of Muslim Arab traders in the region

compelled the Seljuks, who took their name from founding chieftain Seljuk ibn Duqaq, to become Sunni Muslims.

The Seljuk march of conquest began in 1037 when chieftain Tughril Bey came to power. After driving the Persianate Muslim Ghaznavids south towards India, Tughril then carved a path of conquest through the crumbling Abbasid Caliphate. He established his sultanate in 1055 in Baghdad, thus taking control of the impotent caliphate. During the early years of the Great Seljuk Empire, the Seljuk army recruited heavily among free Turkmen tribesmen who willingly fought alongside their brethren in the quest for plunder and land.

When Tughril died at the age of 70 in September 1063 his nephew Muhammad bin Dawud Chaghri, who bore the honorific Alp Arslan (heroic lion),

became the Great Seljuk sultan. Arslan clashed repeatedly in the late 1060s with the Byzantines in the highlands of Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia. Yet his principal enemy was not the Byzantine Empire, but rather the Fatimid Caliphate that was based in Egypt. This was because the Shiite Fatimids posed a serious threat to his position in the Islamic world.

Arslan captured the Armenian capital of Ani in 1064. In the years that followed, he directed his subordinates to conduct raids deep into the Byzantine interior while he steadily chipped away at the Byzantine Empire's frontier defences.

ROMANOS TAKES THE OFFENSIVE

Romanos set to work immediately after he came to power building an army that could campaign on the eastern front. The tried-and-true Byzantine recruitment system painstakingly put in place by Basil II that produced loyal peasant-soldiers from Anatolia had been allowed to rot in the decades following his rule. For that reason Romanos was forced to rely heavily on foreign mercenaries. The core of his army consisted of Armenians, Bulgarians, Byzantines, Franks, Germans, Greeks, Normans and Varangians. His light cavalry consisted primarily of Pechenegs.

In keeping with his promise to rid the empire of the annoying Seljuk menace, he led his army into Syria in 1068, where he campaigned against Aleppo. The following year he suffered a bloody repulse at the hands of the Seljuks defending their fortress of Ahlat on the north shore of Lake Van. Then in 1070 Romanos focused his resources on containing the Norman advance against Byzantine territory in southern Italy. Arslan took advantage of his nemesis' absence in the field in 1070 to capture

the fortress of Manzikert just north of Ahlat. It was clear at that point that the north shore of Lake Van had become a key battleground.

DIPLOMACY FAILURES

In spring 1071 Romanos again took to the field against the Turks. After recruiting new troops in the late winter, he set out on a 500-mile march to Sebastea. Before he departed, though, he sent a delegation to Arslan, who was besieging the Byzantine-garrison at Edessa in the upper Mesopotamia region. The envoys informed the sultan that Romanos proposed a truce. Furthermore, the emperor offered to trade the Byzantine-held town of Hierapolis in Syria in return for the Seljuk-controlled towns of Manzikert in Armenia. Arslan avoided making a commitment, but he left the door open for further talks.

Romanos held a council of war in Sebastea after which he resolved to march into Armenia and retake the fortresses of Manzikert and Ahlat from the Seljuks. He boasted that he would drive the Seljuks back to Central Asia.

Another Byzantine peace delegation travelled to Syria to meet with Arslan. This time Romanos' ambassador demanded not only an answer to the emperor's previous proposals, but also that the Turks stop all incursions into Byzantine territory. Arslan refused to agree to the demands. It was likely that the two sides would continue their undeclared war.

Arslan raised the siege of Aleppo in late April and led his army north into Upper Mesopotamia. Many of these Seljuk troops were exhausted from extensive campaigning, so he sent a large number back to Central Asia. However, he retained his 4,000-man askar.

ARSLAN MARCHES NORTH

The Byzantine army reached Theodosiopolis in late June. It was there that Romanos learned of Arslan's ambivalence towards his peace proposals. He also received faulty intelligence that the Seljuk sultan had returned to Persia.

After an arduous march through the uplands of northwestern Mesopotamia that involved a dangerous crossing of the flooded upper Euphrates River, Arslan established a forward outpost at Khoy in Azerbaijan. Kurdish Muslim recruits flocked to his banner in the early summer. At the same time, Seljuk vizier Nizam al-Mulk went to Persia to recruit professional soldiers. In addition, Turkmen commander Aytakin al-Sulaymani joined the Seljuk army, further swelling its ranks and giving Arslan additional light cavalry.

When he had sufficient forces in hand, Arslan dispatched his trusted lieutenant, Sanduq al-Turki, with a strong advance guard to strengthen the mighty fortress of Ahlat. Sanduq led his forces along the north shore of Lake Van, skirting a narrow passage between the lake and the towering 14,000ft peak of the Suphan Dag.

CLASH OF THE VANGUARDS

In early August Romanos led his army east to recover Manzikert and Ahlat by force of arms. On 22 August Romanos' army reached the Turkish-held fortress at Manzikert. After establishing a fortified camp south of the town, Romanos ordered his Armenian infantry to storm it. The Seljuk garrison holding the citadel surrendered the following day.

The garrison's surrender on 23 August sparked great rejoicing in the Byzantine camp. Despite indications that the garrison at Ahlat had been heavily reinforced, Romanos was unaware that



The medieval Byzantine army descended from the highly efficient Roman army of late antiquity

BYZANTINE



Byzantine heavy cavalry protected the emperor in battle

Arslan had arrived at Ahlat. The Byzantine emperor was so confident of success that he sent 12,000 of his men to Georgia to assist the Christians in the Caucasus against the Seljuks.

Arslan was not as confident as Romanos. In an attempt to avoid a pitched battle with the Byzantines, on 25 August the Seljuk sultan sent Abbasid diplomat Ibn al-Muhalban to negotiate with the Byzantine emperor. Al-Muhalban and several other emissaries arrived at the Byzantine camp two days after the surrender of Manzikert. He informed Romanos that Arslan was nearby and wished to negotiate with him. But Romanos was convinced that his large army could crush the Seljuks in a pitched battle, and therefore rebuffed the dignitary out of hand.

LURED INTO AMBUSH

On the morning of 26 August, the Byzantine army arrayed itself for battle south of Manzikert. Theodore Attaliates commanded the right wing, Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes led the centre, and Nikephoros Bryennios commanded the left wing. The two wings of the front rank were composed of Anatolian infantry battalions and cavalry squadrons. The centre division led by Romanos was composed of the best of the Byzantine cavalry, as well as Varangian and Armenian heavy infantry. The reserve was entrusted to Andronikos Dukas.

As for the Seljuk forces, they deployed for battle in their traditional crescent formation. Sultan Alp Arslan led the centre, and Turkish chief of staff Sav-Tekin commanded the wings and rearguard.

Romanos ordered his army to advance against the Turks. His goal was to force the enemy to engage in close combat.

His best hope of doing this was to pin the Turks against a cliff, gorge or river that would force them to stand their ground.

In the face of the slow and steady advance of the tightly packed

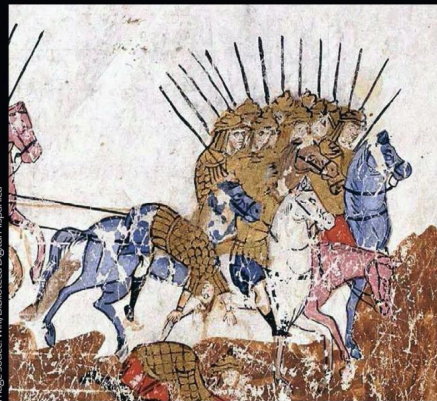
Byzantine troops, the Turks fell back but remained close enough to continue their arrow volleys.

Arslan's tactic that day consisted of luring the Byzantines into



EMPEROR ROMANOS IV DIOGENES

Empress Eudocia specifically married Romanos on the understanding that the Byzantine army needed to be rebuilt and his military expertise were required to achieve this. However, his short three-year reign was a calamitous failure that ended in his overthrow.



A DECLINING MILITARY

Following the death of Emperor Basil II of the Macedonian dynasty in 1025, the Byzantine military capability had been in steep decline. Most of the rulers who had held the throne for the past four decades had deliberately starved the imperial army of manpower and resources in order to prevent military coups.



BETRAYAL OF DUKAS

It's suspected that Andronicus Dukas deliberately withdrew from the battle in order to leave Romanos vulnerable and usurp him. Romanos had placed his forces in the rearguard for precisely this reason, but his retreat still cost him dearly. The Dukas family then usurped his throne.

SELJUK



SULTAN ALP ARSLAN

The second sultan of the Seljuk Empire, Alp Arslan, managed to defend the north and southwest of his kingdom while also solidifying the control he had over the region. His victory at Manzikert was the death knell of the Byzantine Empire, but perhaps also the catalyst for the crusades that followed.



SLAVE ARMY

Arslan's army was composed of professional ghulam soldiers. Ghulams were Turkic slave soldiers used by Islamic armies of conquest that preceded the Seljuks. The ghulams were expert horsemen who fought clad in protective mail with spear and sword. The Seljuks began integrating these fearsome soldiers into their field armies following their occupation of Baghdad.

a grand ambush. Once his mounted bowmen had weakened the Byzantines, he planned to swiftly counterattack his foe.

By mid-afternoon the Byzantine centre had overrun the Seljuk forward command post. As the Byzantine troops continued south, they entered broken ground that rose in elevation. The hit-and-run attacks by the Turkish mounted bowmen who unleashed volley after volley into the Byzantine wings began to take its toll on the Byzantines.

The Turks had plenty of room in which to continue their steady withdrawal. With darkness approaching, Romanos could ill afford to have his troops bivouac overnight in the valley where the troops would have no access to water for themselves or their horses. Romanos therefore decided to return to his fortified camp.

As the Byzantines tried to withdraw, the Turks redoubled their harassing volleys. Romanos grew weary of the storm of arrows, and he ordered his troops to attack. To his shock, the rearguard continued to march north towards Manzikert. The result was that a wide swath of ground opened up between the Byzantine main force and the reserve. The Turks moved quickly to fill the gap in order to attack the Byzantine main body from two sides.

SELJUK COUNTERATTACK

The well-armoured Turkish ghulams of Arslan's askar rode for the Byzantine imperial standard marking Romanos' position. They crashed into the Byzantine centre. Even as they did so, Turkish horse archers swept around the Byzantine centre, sending deadly volleys of arrows into the ranks of the isolated division.

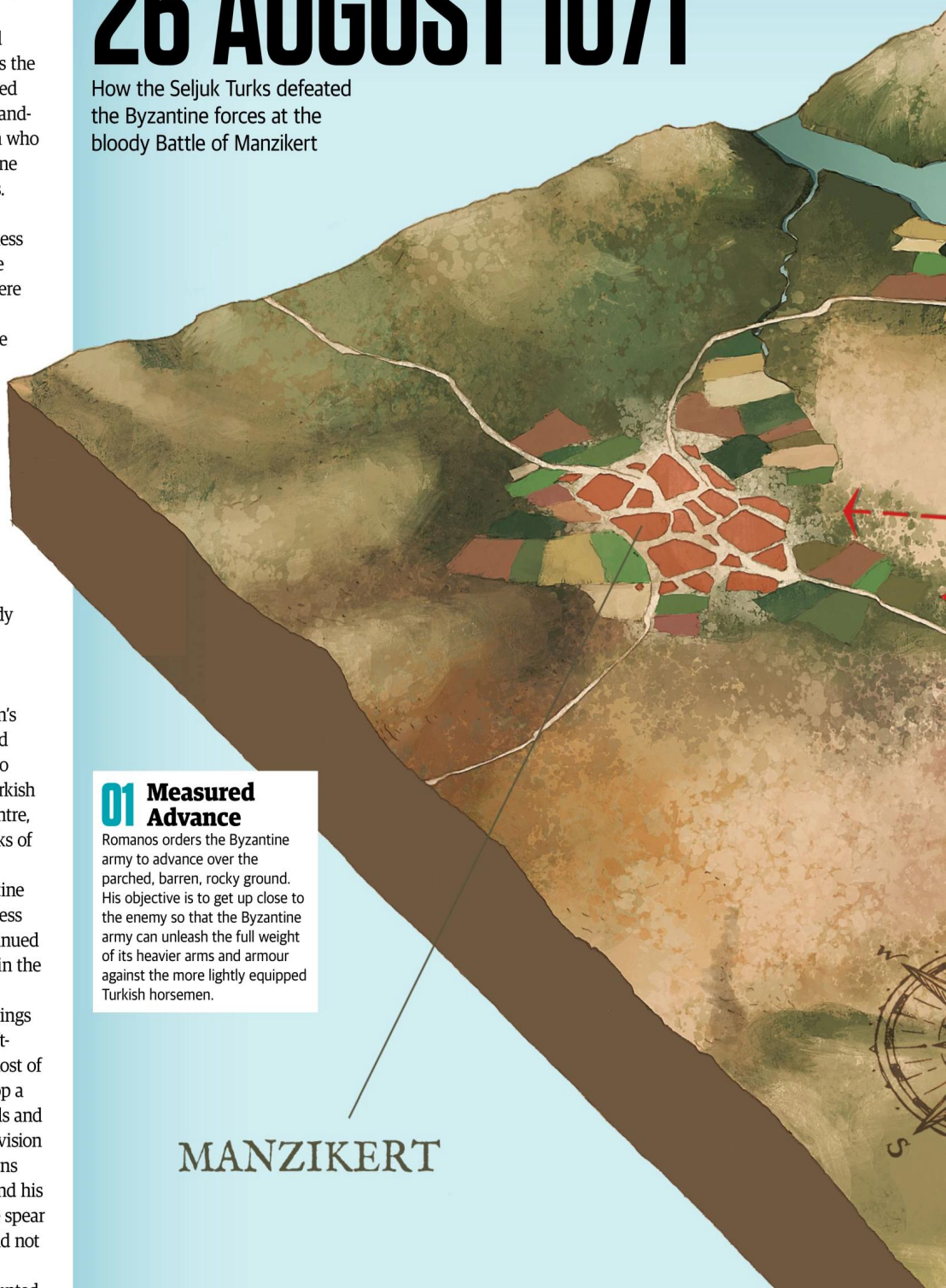
Chaos and confusion reigned as the Byzantine army completely unravelled under the relentless charges of the Turkish ghulams and the continued hit-and-run attacks of the mounted bowmen in the final phase of the battle.

Byzantine troops from both demoralised wings streamed north towards Manzikert, with swift-riding Turkish horsemen on their heels. As most of his army deserted him, Romanos climbed atop a rock outcrop so that his Varangian bodyguards and the stout-hearted Armenian infantry of his division could see that he was still alive. The Varangians and Armenians formed a wall of shields around his position. The shield wall served to deflect the spear thrusts of the Turkish ghulams, but they could not stop the hail of arrows.

When it seemed all was lost, Romanos mounted his horse and waded into the ranks of the enemy. After slaying several opponents, he found himself completely surrounded. He eventually received a severe wound to his hand that left him defenceless. Not long afterwards, his horse was slain by a Turkish arrow. The Turks grabbed Romanos, bound him, and dragged him before Arslan. Although he was spared, the Turks gave no quarter to his Varangian and Armenian defenders.

26 AUGUST 1071

How the Seljuk Turks defeated the Byzantine forces at the bloody Battle of Manzikert



01 Measured Advance

Romanos orders the Byzantine army to advance over the parched, barren, rocky ground. His objective is to get up close to the enemy so that the Byzantine army can unleash the full weight of its heavier arms and armour against the more lightly equipped Turkish horsemen.

02 Turks Lure Byzantines

From the outset of the battle, the Turkish centre withdraws steadily to the southeast, refusing to engage in a close combat. A strong wind from the north blows dust into the Turks' eyes, but it doesn't affect their performance that much.

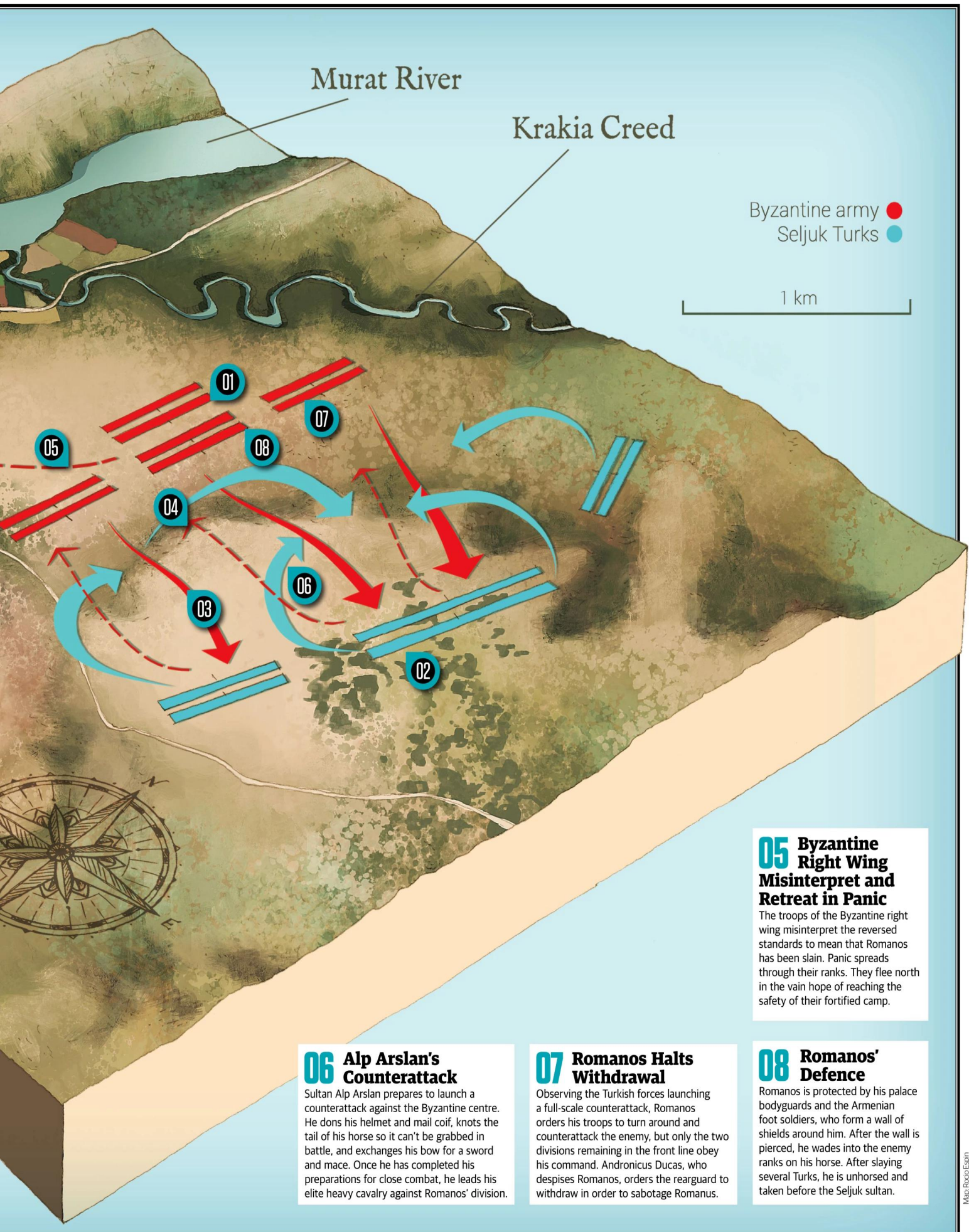
03 Byzantine Wings Grow Ragged

By late afternoon the Byzantine wings are unable to keep pace with the centre division. The Turkish archery has slowed the advance of the Byzantine wings and made their formations increasingly ragged as they try desperately to keep pace with the Byzantine centre.

04 Romanos Orders Countermarch

Romanos instructs his army to halt its advance in the late afternoon. Believing that his army faces annihilation if it has to camp for the night on open ground, he orders a general retreat. The imperial standards are reversed, which is a signal to his troops to countermarch to Manzikert.

Battle Of Manzikert



Byzantine army ●
Seljuk Turks ●

1 km

05 Byzantine Right Wing Misinterpret and Retreat in Panic

The troops of the Byzantine right wing misinterpret the reversed standards to mean that Romanos has been slain. Panic spreads through their ranks. They flee north in the vain hope of reaching the safety of their fortified camp.

06 Alp Arslan's Counterattack

Sultan Alp Arslan prepares to launch a counterattack against the Byzantine centre. He dons his helmet and mail coif, knots the tail of his horse so it can't be grabbed in battle, and exchanges his bow for a sword and mace. Once he has completed his preparations for close combat, he leads his elite heavy cavalry against Romanos' division.

07 Romanos Halts Withdrawal

Observing the Turkish forces launching a full-scale counterattack, Romanos orders his troops to turn around and counterattack the enemy, but only the two divisions remaining in the front line obey his command. Andronicus Ducas, who despises Romanos, orders the rearguard to withdraw in order to sabotage Romanos.

08 Romanos' Defence

Romanos is protected by his palace bodyguards and the Armenian foot soldiers, who form a wall of shields around him. After the wall is pierced, he wades into the enemy ranks on his horse. After slaying several Turks, he is unhorsed and taken before the Seljuk sultan.

The 'What If' Newspaper

England

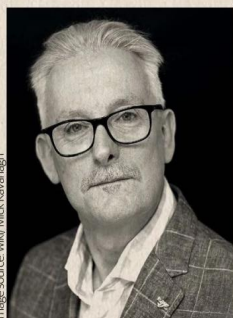
Interview by Callum McKelvie

1945

CHURCHILL WINS GENERAL ELECTION

In a landslide victory, the Conservative party were last night declared the winners of the July election

EXCLUSIVE Interview With



**ANTHONY
TUCKER-JONES**

Former intelligence officer Anthony Tucker-Jones is a military historian whose works include *Operation Dragoon: The Invasion Of Southern France 1944* and *Kursk 1943: Hitler's Bitter Harvest*. He's currently working on his next book, *Churchill Master And Commander: Winston Churchill At War 1895-1945*.

What was the immediate backdrop and run-up to the election?

The July 1945 election was the result of an agreement between the ruling coalition that once victory had been achieved in Europe, a general election would be called. Winston Churchill



Labour leader Clement Attlee

wanted to stay in office until Japan was defeated but was obliged to step down as prime minister beforehand. By this time the country was very war fatigued. We'd been at war since September 1939 and Churchill had been prime minister since May 1940. The general feeling was one of relief but also hope that maybe now there could be a new start. There hadn't been an election for some time and people felt that the time was right.

What was this run-up like for Churchill himself?

Churchill was undoubtedly quite exhausted by this stage. He'd been running the war both as prime minister

and as defence minister, a post he'd assigned himself. So not only had he overseen the running of the country but he'd also supervised the conduct of the war including defence industries, strategy and diplomatic relations. He'd also travelled an inordinate amount. He'd been around the world to conferences in Quebec, Washington D.C., Casablanca and numerous other places. He wasn't a young man, his health wasn't great and he was tired by the time the war ended in Europe. I'm sure he felt triumphant but I think if he'd had the option he certainly wouldn't have fought a general election. It was probably the last thing on his mind and that of the Conservatives.

CHURCHILL'S NHS

Prime Minister Winston Churchill has unveiled his plans for a new form of national health service. As of next week, one plaster and one bandage will be distributed to every British citizen.

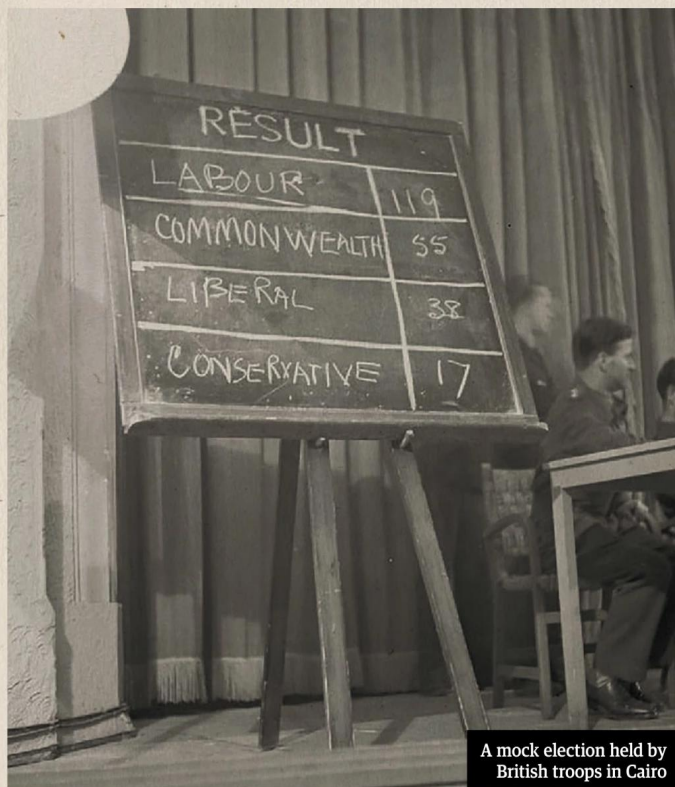




Londoners cast their
vote in July 1945



Churchill at his seat in
the Cabinet room



A mock election held by British troops in Cairo

“In 1950 would Churchill have committed more troops to the Korean War than Labour did?”



Winston Churchill's passionate campaigning in 1945 was to no avail

What were the characteristics of both sides' campaigns?

Clement Attlee and the Labour Party were a lot better prepared than Churchill and the Conservatives. In 1942, Labour had brought out the *Beveridge Report*, which looked at their proposed post-war policies. Therefore they had given a lot more thought to what would appeal to the electorate than the Tories had. Churchill and the Conservatives on the other hand were relying mainly on his wartime performance. Churchill was enormously popular, a highly gifted public orator and had led us skilfully during the war. There was a general feeling that the Tories and Churchill could trade on this and consequently they didn't do maybe as much groundwork as they should have done. After all, they were facing a parliamentary election and not a presidential one, so people weren't voting specifically for Churchill but for the Conservative Party as a whole.

The Labour Party won the election by a landslide. Why was this?

Labour's landslide victory came as a shock to Churchill and the Tories. Churchill is on record as having worries that troops returning from overseas might vote against him but nothing on the scale of what occurred. The key thing Labour had was well-thought-out policies that appealed to people desperate for a new start. The Tories had a lot of baggage from the 1930s when the economy had not been that successful, and people remembered those pre-war days. Labour on the other hand were offering universal education, a family allowance, the setting up of the welfare state and a publicly funded health service. All of these things appealed to the electorate. The general feeling of the country was that it wanted a change and obviously that was reflected in Labour winning almost double the seats that the Conservatives did.

What were the consequences of this?

During and immediately after the election, Churchill found himself in a rather odd situation. While the election was ongoing he went to Potsdam for a conference with the Russians and Americans on the future of Europe and the Far East once Japan had been defeated. Of course, Churchill took his deputy prime minister with him, who was Clement Attlee - the Labour Party leader. So there Churchill is, holding

these high-powered talks and all the while in the back of his mind there's the chance that he's not going to be prime minister once they've finished. However, long before he lost the election he had given his support to the Americans that he would back the dropping of atomic weapons on Japan. In fact, he called them the "Miracle of Deliverance". Although that didn't happen on his watch, he did support the idea and there wasn't much Labour could do as the bombing occurred immediately after the election had taken place. However, they did ensure that British armed forces were demobilised fairly quickly. But I think for Churchill the general feeling was sympathy for him, at home and abroad. There was a sense of shock that the country had thanked him for his outstanding premiership by essentially sacking him! I think a lot of people felt sorry for him. However, it is important to remember that Churchill himself carried a lot of political baggage. Throughout his career he'd held most of the high offices and people remembered him for positions such as chancellor of the exchequer, where he'd not done particularly well. In a way his emergency wartime premiership was something completely different to his previous political career, though the latter had prepared him for that decisive moment in 1940 when he became prime minister.

What could the immediate effect have been if the Conservatives had won the 1945 election?

If Churchill had won the general election there are three key things that he would have certainly had an immediate impact on. The first of these is Indian independence: Churchill was very, very pro-empire and was loath to see India go. I think if he'd remained prime minister, the outcome would have ultimately been the same but certainly the negotiations could have gone very differently. Then, of course, he would have almost certainly had an impact on the opening stages of the Cold War. The Allies fell out fairly quickly with Stalin and the Soviet Union and that led to a stand off over Allied-occupied West Berlin. This was slap-bang in the middle of East Germany and was reliant on Soviet good faith for communications, air corridors etc into those parts occupied by the Western Allies. For a while the Soviets closed these off and we ended up with first the blockade and then the dramatic Berlin airlift. If Churchill had been in office he

WHAT IF CHURCHILL WON THE 1945 ELECTION?



A British soldier stationed in the Middle East casts his postal vote

would most likely have tried to reach out to Stalin. He always believed they had a close relationship and that he could influence the Soviet leader. Lastly, of course, there was the Korean War. If Churchill had been in office in 1950 when that war broke out, it's quite conceivable that he would have committed more troops than Labour did. The UK sent a brigade as part of the UN mandate to force the North out of the South, but it would have been interesting to see whether or not Churchill would have decided to commit more troops than the Labour government.

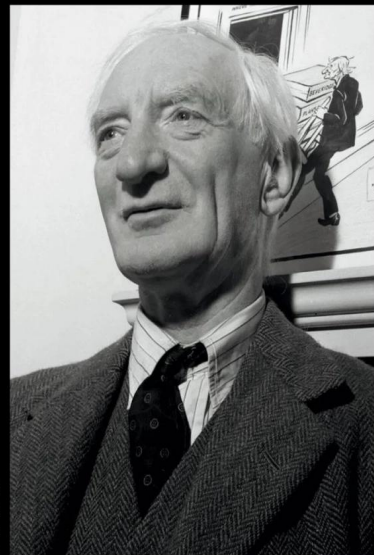
What could some of the wider implications have been, later into the 20th century, of a Tory victory?

In terms of the Labour victory in 1945, certainly looking at it in the cold light of 2020, the most important thing they did was set up the National Health Service. This has long been held up as an enormous success and the jewel in the crown of British institutions. Most countries have varying forms of private healthcare but crucially the NHS is free at the point of delivery. Would that have happened under Churchill? Well,

certainly it wouldn't be in its current form. Some sort of state-funded health service would have been required but would it be in the size it is today? I don't know. I think probably that's the most fundamental thing. Long-term the election made Labour a viable political party, which it had not been up to that point. It had been in power but only with minority governments. Suddenly that landslide victory signalled they were a party to be reckoned with and it sowed the seeds for what we have today, which is effectively a two-party parliamentary democracy system. The only viable parties that can form governments are the Conservative and the Labour parties. It also signalled pretty much the end of the Liberals. For a long time it had been the Tories and the Liberals that could form governments, and that came to an end. They were delivered a blow that they never recovered from. Ironically, Churchill had during his long career sat on the Liberal benches in the House of Commons and it was his resounding defeat that sounded their political death knell. It was an outcome that would have made David Lloyd George, the last Liberal prime minister, turn in his grave!

WILLIAM TELLS IT HOW IT IS

The main reason for Labour's landslide victory in the post-war general election is down to its groundbreaking policies of social reform, outlined in 1942's *Social Insurance And Allied Services*, better known as the *Beveridge Report*. The report was so widely published that it actually became a bestseller. Created by liberal economist William Beveridge, it proposed widespread social reform in order to combat what he termed "Five Giants" on the road to reconstruction. These giants were "Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness". In his report Beveridge described a "cradle to grave" approach to social reform after his pre-war work for a charitable organisation convinced him that only through such reform could poverty and social inequality be eradicated. The Acts that the Labour government introduced to try to achieve this were the Family Allowances Act (1945), National Insurance Act (1946), National Health Service Act (1946), Pensions Increase Act (1947) and the Landlord And Tenant Rent Control Act (1949).



William Beveridge created the blueprint for Labour's post-war social reform

PAST THE POST



Postal voting in the UK began in 1918 as part of the Representation of the People Act, mainly due to the large number of servicemen overseas. This was extended again in the Representation of the People Act (1945) for the same reason, but was still only applicable to servicemen. It would not be until 1948 that it was extended to civilians.



Through History

WORLD WARS IN COLOUR

A striking series of colourised photographs adds new depth and reality to images from the Great War and World War II

Since the end of World War II 75 years ago, the memory of both that conflict and that of its predecessor has become increasingly distant. As those involved have passed away, it becomes harder now to imagine the true horror of what it must have been like to live through those terrifying times.

The World Aflame, a new book from Head of Zeus publishing, contains a striking collection of 200 colourised images that have been

expertly annotated to tell the story of the Great War and World War II. These digital renditions by Brazilian artist Marina Amaral capture a stunning sense of reality and brutality that brings home the tragic human cost of those conflicts. Historian and journalist Dan Jones has also skillfully weaved his narration alongside the images, highlighting key battles and events with insightful commentary and detailed factual description.

Subtitled *The Long War 1914-1945*, *The World Aflame* also aims to highlight the connections between the two world wars and the many other conflicts that occurred in between. It serves as a thought-provoking look at the concept of the '30 years war' or 'long war', and paints a gripping portrait of a world torn asunder by four decades of chaos. Awe-inspiring, occasionally upsetting and at times uplifting, this is a fascinating full-colour reminder of those dark days.

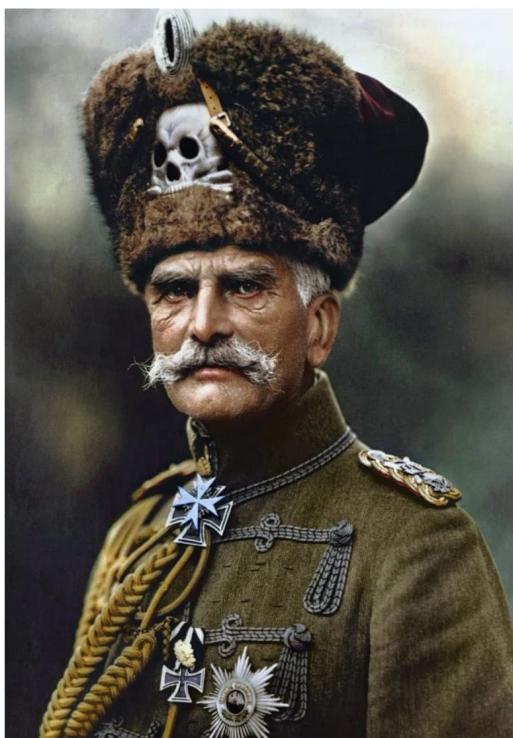


PASSCHENDAELE

▶ Lasting just over three-months, from summer to winter in 1917, the Battle of Passchendaele is one of the most notorious encounters of World War I. It remains controversial to this day, with many still debating the decision to pursue an offensive strategy and continue fighting during the winter. Up to 450,000 men were killed or wounded.

AUGUST VON MACKENSEN

▶ August von Mackensen was one of Germany's most celebrated military leaders during WWI, and was famous for his victories in Serbia and Romania. He was also known for his brazen attitude: after the defeat of Romania on his 67th birthday, he rode into Bucharest on a white horse and moved into the palace.



THE HARLEM HELLFIGHTERS

▶ The United States 396th was composed primarily of African-Americans and was one of the first to serve with the American Expeditionary Force during WWI. The unit spent 191 days on the front line, more than any other US unit during the war.



LUFTSTREITKRÄFTE

► The German Air Force, also called the Luftstreitkräfte, originally started life as an experimental battalion using differing forms of hot-air balloon. Aircraft entered the German military in 1910, with the first battalion formed in 1913. Germany would possess air superiority until 1917 and had casualty rates significantly lower than the British air force.



INVASION OF POLAND

► On 1 September 1939, Nazi forces invaded Poland. The attack took place only a week and a day after the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between Germany and the Soviet Union. At the invasion's end the two forces would divide and annex the country, with Britain declaring war on Germany as a result.



WARSAW GHETTO

▶ At its height some 460,000 Jews were imprisoned in an area that was only 3.4 km², with roughly nine people to every room. After the uprising in 1943, the ghetto was destroyed and some 13,000 died in the slaughter.

X FORCE

▼ X force was the name given to the part of the Chinese army that retreated from Burma into India in 1942. After assisting the British against the Japanese, the Chinese army broke into disparate sections, one of which entered India. The X force was used as the spearhead of a drive to open a land route to China.



D-DAY

▶ D-Day on 6 June 1944 saw some 10,000 aircraft, 7,000 ships and 160,000 soldiers taking part in one of the most decisive operations of World War II. Allied forces stormed the beaches of Normandy in the largest amphibious assault in history - shown here is the moment when soldiers disembarked their landing craft and began their attack.



The World Aflame
is available now from
Head of Zeus

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

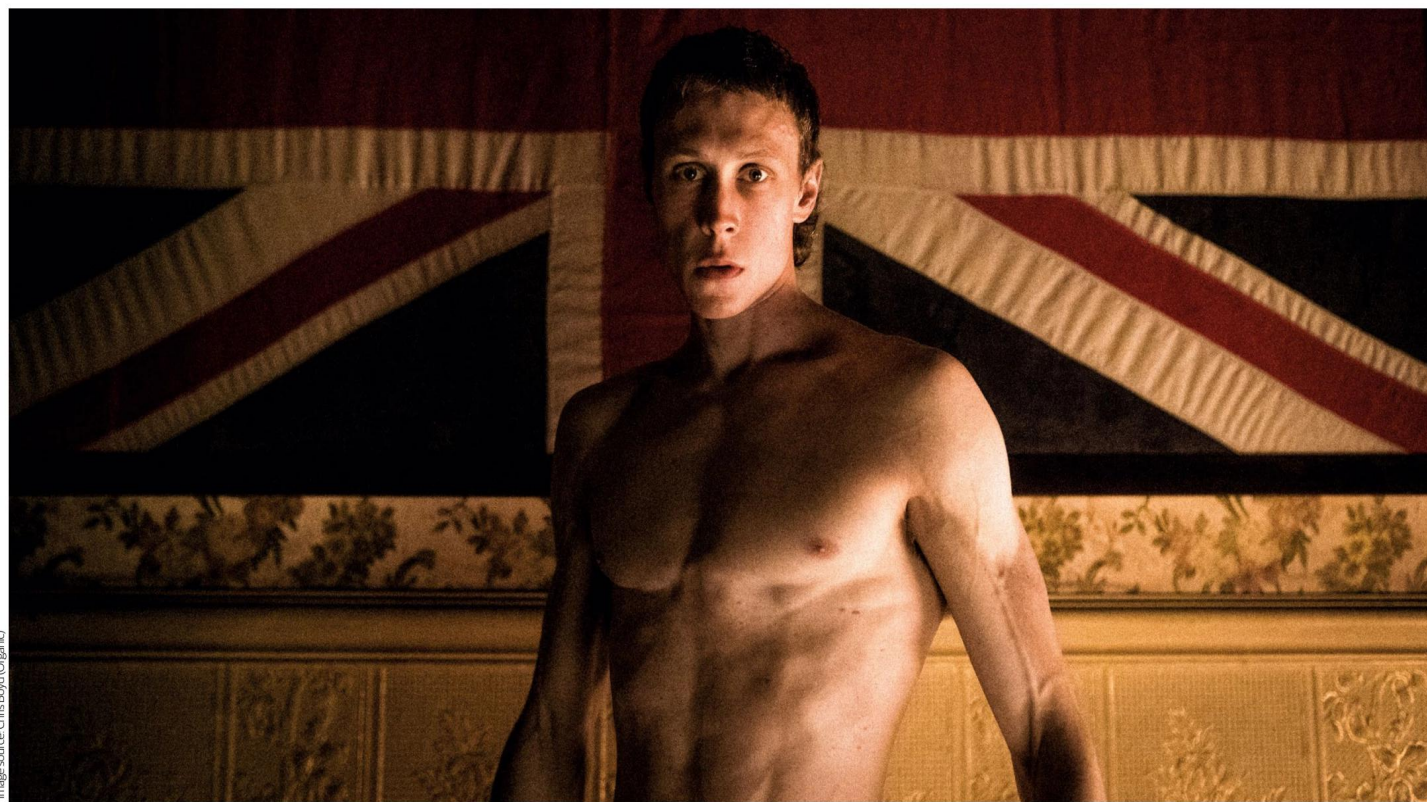


Image source: Chris Boyd (Gigand)

TRUE HISTORY OF THE KELLY GANG

A postmodern look at the life of one of the world's greatest outlaws

Cert 18 **Director** Justin Kurzel **Cast** George MacKay, Essie Davis, Nicholas Hoult **Released:** Out now

Adaptations of the exploits of Ned Kelly and his gang of outlaws are nothing new. Indeed, the world's first feature-length film was on this very topic, and since the release of *The Story Of The Kelly Gang* in 1906 numerous personalities have taken on the role. From Australian football player Bob Chitty to Heath Ledger and even Mick Jagger, all have attempted to bring their unique talents to the infamous bushranger. So now, in 2020, we have another version, *True History Of The Kelly Gang*, an adaptation of Peter Carey's 2001 novel of the same name. An obvious attempt to be daring and different, the result is flawed at best.

Unlike previous versions, *True History* focuses on telling a character-driven narrative, with an emphasis on Kelly himself, as opposed to simply recounting his exploits. It seeks to explore his relationships with those around him, in particular that with his mother (Essie Davis) but also with individuals such as mentor Harry Power (Russell Crowe) and friend Joe Byrne (Sam Keenan). However, the narrative jumps and switches focus so much that it becomes difficult

to know who to care about and when. Joe is mostly a background figure until the last act when suddenly his importance is emphasised. Power is one of the more intriguing aspects and Crowe is fantastic, but he vanishes just as he gets interesting. MacKay and Davis are our only consistent through-line and both are superb in their lead roles. If nothing else, *True History* can at least be remembered as a showcase for their talents.

However, this consistent switching of focus is symptomatic of the bigger problem with *True History* - it doesn't know what it wants to be. The marketing fixates on the film's more outré moments, where it adopts a punk aesthetic (even occasionally utilising punk songs) with extreme visuals and a gritty nature. This would seem to fit with the film's attempts to be a harsh look at the reality of British colonial rule during this period, which forms its thematic core. However, anybody who saw Jennifer Kent's *The Nightingale*, released last year, has already seen as unflinching and brutal an approach to this subject as one could possibly take.

The problem with *True History* is that it never even comes close to that level of savagery and as a result it feels hollow. Now, we're no gore hounds and we only endorse violence in films for the sake of story, not for sheer spectacle, but we couldn't help but feel like here its subject was sanitised. The problem is *True History* feels like it's telling us when to be horrified without ever actually shocking us.

For those interested in a slightly different narrative take on the source material, *True History* is worth a watch. Highlighting character and motivation over anything else, it's an opinionated reassessment of a well-worn subject. However, for the most part the film is screaming for you to recognise how daring and different it is, without actually being so. It takes more than spouting a few expletives, an eccentric visual style and blasting the odd punk song to be unique and engaging. With that in mind, *True History* can't help but feel like the cinematic equivalent of an emo phase. **CM**



Reviews by
 Callum McKelvie, Jessica Leggett

WIND OF CHANGE

A podcast that uses a mystery surrounding rock group Scorpions to delve into the CIA's history

Author Patrick Radden Keefe **Publishers** Pineapple Street Studios, Crooked Media and Spotify **Released** Out now

West German rock group Scorpions' *Wind Of Change* was ostensibly written by frontman Klaus Meine. Celebrating glasnost, the power-ballad became the anthem for the end of the Cold War in Europe. However, was the song actually written by the CIA as a propaganda mission?

This is the central mystery that underpins host and journalist Patrick Radden Keefe's podcast of the same name. However, Keefe uses this merely as a framework through which to explore the hidden history of the Cold War. From Louis Armstrong to GI Joe, Keefe doesn't restrict where he allows this journey to take him and the show is a veritable rabbit warren of espionage and propaganda-related stories. This makes for

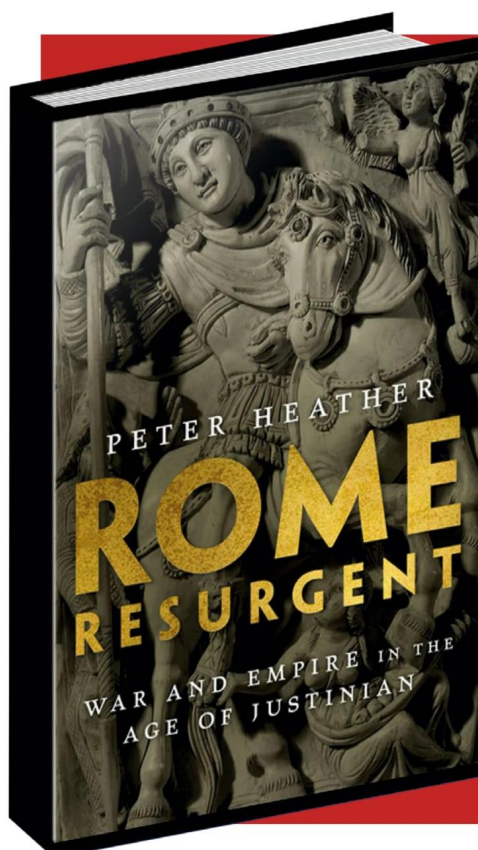
an incredibly fun listen, with the listener having no idea where it's going to take them next. However, these left-turns always link back to the central idea and never feel frivolous or unrelated.

Of the central question, many have asked does it really matter? Honestly, it's a recurring issue, particularly when Keefe talks to obviously uncomfortable ex-CIA operatives. Yet a more serious unveiling of a wider conspiracy does not appear to be either the focus or the intent of this podcast. Keefe refers several times to the 2012 Ben Affleck film *Argo*, which tells the story of a fake film crew created by the CIA with the intention of rescuing American hostages from Iran in 1979. This seems to be the model for Keefe, positioning the possible writing of



the song as a CIA victory and something to be celebrated.

Wind Of Change can be listened to in its entirety on Spotify for free now and on a weekly basis through other platforms. **CM**



ROME RESURGENT

A comprehensive re-assessment of Justinian's reign

Author Peter Heather **Publisher** Oxford University Press

Price £12.99 **Released** Out now

Justinian I - also known as Justinian the Great - is perhaps the most famous of all the Byzantine emperors. In his latest book, historian Peter Heather reconsiders the reign and legacy of Justinian, his quest to recover the lands of the fallen Western Roman Empire, and whether his conquests ultimately led to the fall of the Eastern Empire.

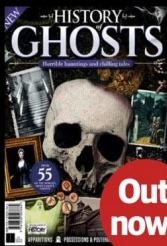
As Heather explores the political and military history of Justinian's reign, he disputes two key arguments that have been frequently put forward by other historians. Firstly, he believes that the wars of Justinian were not driven by his desire to reunify the Roman Empire but rather to expand his territory, just like the other rulers of his time. Secondly, he determines that the Eastern Empire became vulnerable to Persian and Arab invaders in the 7th century because of outside influences,

not because Justinian had overexpanded his empire and depleted its resources.

By reassessing Justinian and his achievements alongside the wider context of the period in which he lived, Heather offers a deeper understanding of his reign and his arguments are convincing. For readers who already know this period of history well, this book will definitely be thought-provoking.

Heather supports his arguments with a plethora of textual and archaeological sources and he also includes an extensive bibliography. At the same time, he's produced a well-written narrative that's engaging and easy to read, making this book accessible to anybody with an interest in Justinian, not just academics. **JL**





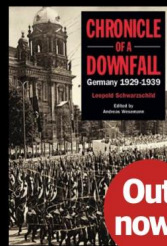
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HISTORY WAR RECOMMENDS...



Chronicle Of A Downfall

Author Leopold Schwarzschild
Price £28.99 **Publisher** I.B. Tauris

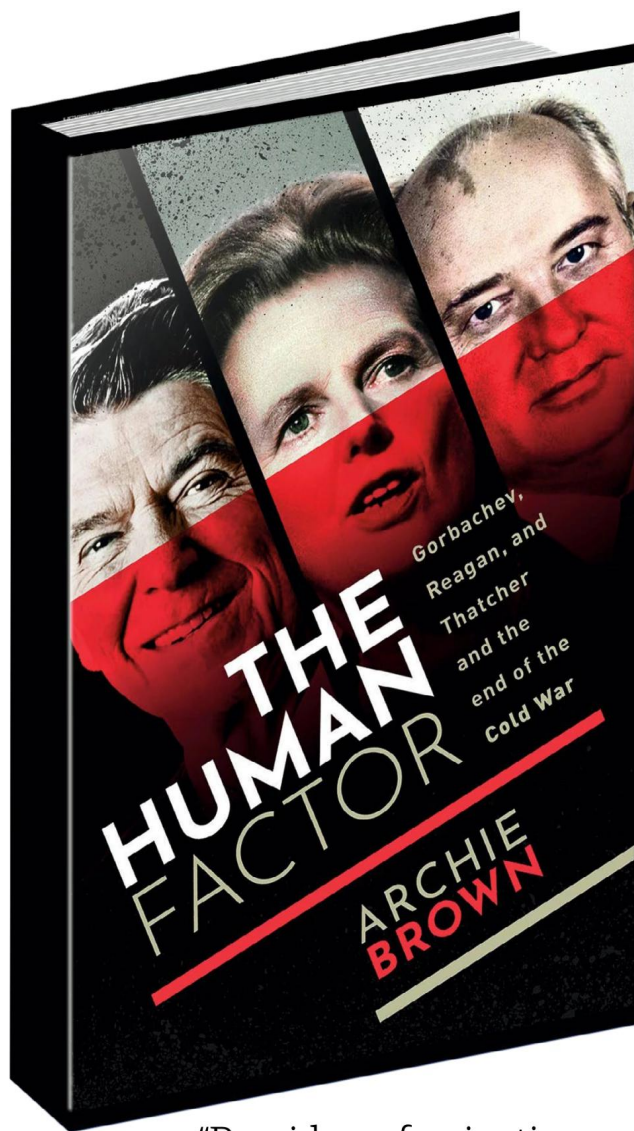
Leopold Schwarzschild was a German-Jewish journalist who fled to Paris in 1933. There he mounted a furious attack on the European powers who were taken off guard by the Nazi ascendancy. Schwarzschild was a myth-buster, who revealed that Hitler was in fact, "a defeated man when victory was gifted to him. His play for power had already failed when he was offered the opportunity to gain it by the back door."

Out now!

THE HUMAN FACTOR

A new history of the end of the Cold War, focussing on the influence and personalities of three of the key players

Author Archie Brown **Publisher** Oxford University Press **Price** £25 **Released** Out now



"Provides a fascinating new perspective on already well-trodden ground"

Archie Brown's *The Human Factor* is yet another book on the end of the Cold War. However, instead of perpetuating the view that the Soviet Union was on the brink of economic collapse, Brown focuses instead on the role of the key players on the international stage. Looking at the relationship between British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, American president Ronald Reagan and in particular Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Brown draws on interviews and conversations to present a fascinating new viewpoint.

The book is sectioned into three parts, with part one serving as an extended 'introduction', part two presenting Brown's main focus and arguments, and part three serving as both a conclusion and epilogue. As such, part one is best described as a 'potted history' of the Cold War and provides biographies of the three key players and their political careers, both domestically and internationally, up until this point.

The material outlining the previous careers of Thatcher, Reagan and Gorbachev feels relevant and detailed, with this section littered with interviews and conversations, which are a selling-point of the book. However, this opening section feels far too long. The first chapter, which functions primarily as a 'Previously In The Cold War...' really does take its time and leaves the reader yearning for Brown to get to the point. But it's worth persevering with, because when the book gets going it really delivers on its promise in spades.

When *The Human Factor* gets to its central premise of exploring the role of the three leaders' personalities and their relationship to ending the Cold War, it proves absolutely fascinating. Brown uses the aforementioned interviews, conversations and comments (gathered from a range of sources) to chart the changing opinions of the trio on not only elements of foreign and domestic policy, but also towards each other. He explores all the usual avenues (such as the role of the USA's Strategic Defense Initiative, or 'Star Wars') but charts how these changed or affected personal views and opinions.

The book comes to an intriguing conclusion in the third section as Brown readdresses his initial points and answers the question posed at the start: would events have occurred differently had a different set of leaders been in charge? It's a thought-provoking point to discuss, especially as Brown takes the time to outline some realistic alternatives who potentially could have been leaders instead.

Even for those who are already deeply familiar with the events leading up to the end of the Cold War, *The Human Factor* is a fascinating read. It may provide some readers with information they already knew, but the depth and breadth of the book has interesting tidbits of information even for aficionados. What *The Human Factor* does do, and does so well, is provide a fascinating new perspective on already well-trodden ground. **CM**



HISTORY HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen



VICTORIA & ABDUL

Director: Stephen Frears **Starring:** Judi Dench, Ali Fazal, Eddie Izzard **Country:** United Kingdom **Released:** 2017

A comedy-drama unveils the hidden relationship between Queen Victoria and her Muslim attendant, Abdul Karim. But are 'we' amused?

VERDICT As the opening card states, a "mostly" true account exaggerated for comedic and dramatic purposes

01 It tells the story of Abdul Karim, an Indian attendant and friend to Queen Victoria. In the film, this relationship begins when he presents a ceremonial coin to her. This is not entirely true - he was selected after she requested two Indian attendants for year's service.



02 Paul Higgins plays the queen's physician, Dr Reid, who had some further suspicions not shown on screen. Karim once requested he send large quantities of medical drugs, including morphine and strychnine, to his father back in India, which Reid refused to do.



03 In one amusing sequence, Queen Victoria wishes to try mango and orders for one to be sent over from India. This really occurred, with the actual fruit taking six weeks to arrive in England - as a result it was rotten and inedible by the time it reached the palace.



04 The Household threatens to resign unless the queen terminates her relationship with Karim. This actually occurred because he was to join them on a visit to Nice. Victoria is reported to have swept the contents of her desk to the floor in a rage, as depicted.



05 Upon the death of the queen in 1901, King Edward VII did seize all of the correspondence between her and Karim, burning it. After Karim's death in 1909 in Agra, Edward sent the commissioner to retrieve any further letters.



Main image: © Alamy
Inset image source: BBC Films

NIGIRIZUSHI

Did you know?

The Japanese word 'nigiri' means to grasp or grip tightly with the hand



Ingredients

- 600ml water
- 375g sushi rice
- 150g of your topping (fresh, raw sashimi-grade fish like salmon or tuna; cooked or cured fish such as smoked salmon; or for a vegetarian option, avocado or mushrooms)
- 4 tbsp rice vinegar
- Wasabi paste
- Soy sauce (to serve)
- 25g pickled ginger (to serve)

A NEW FORM OF FAST FOOD, JAPAN, 19TH CENTURY

It is said that nigirizushi was developed in the 1820s by a chef named Hanaya Yohei. It's hand-formed, and instead of using fermented ingredients it uses rice mixed with vinegar and topped with slices of fresh, raw fish. Nigirizushi is also known as Edomaezushi, in reference to the fish that were caught in Edo Bay, and it was pre-dated by hayazushi, the first form of sushi where fish and rice were consumed together. Since nigirizushi was easy to grab and eat, it was popular with ordinary people and could be bought from street vendors around Edo.

METHOD

- 01** First, prepare the sushi rice. Fill a saucepan with the water, add the rice and bring to the boil. Turn it down to a simmer and let the rice cook gently, uncovered, for ten minutes.
- 02** Once the rice is cooked, mix in the rice vinegar and then spread it out on a tray. Allow the rice to cool to room temperature.
- 03** Next, prepare your chosen topping. If you are using raw fish, use a sharp knife and carefully slice the fish across the grain into thin rectangular pieces. If you're using a cooked or veggie topping, cut these ingredients to size.
- 04** Wet your hands to prevent the rice from sticking to your palms. Take 25g or one tablespoon of rice in your hand and begin shaping it into oblongs about the same size as the pieces of fish or topping.
- 05** Place a dab of wasabi in the centre of a piece of fish or your chosen topping. Place a rice oblong on top of the fish, gently press them together and then flip the sushi so that the topping is facing up. Repeat this process.
- 05** Serve your nigirizushi with soy sauce, wasabi paste and some pickled ginger on the side – it is traditional to eat pickled ginger between bites to cleanse the palate.

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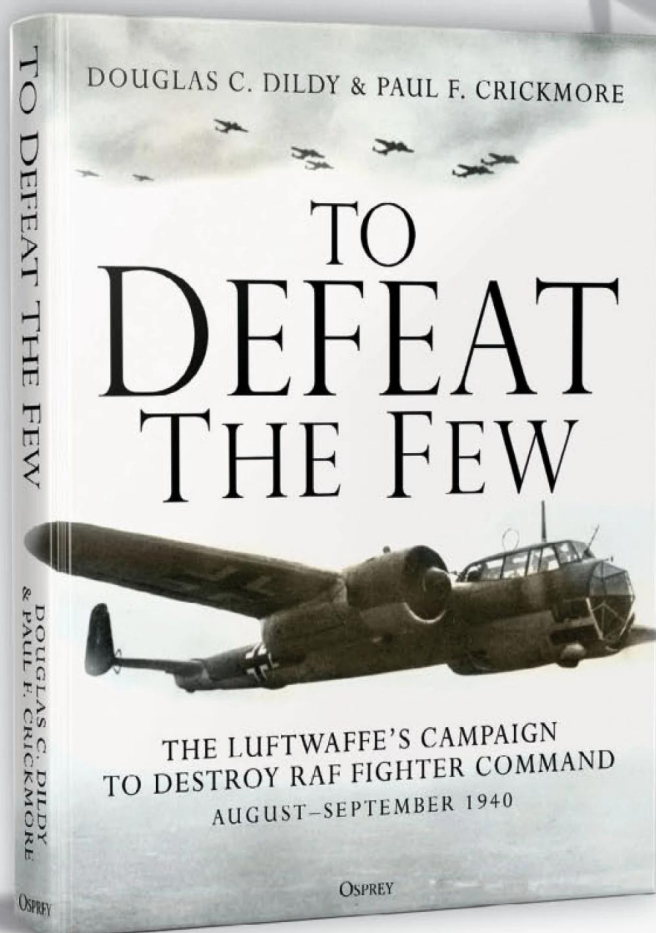
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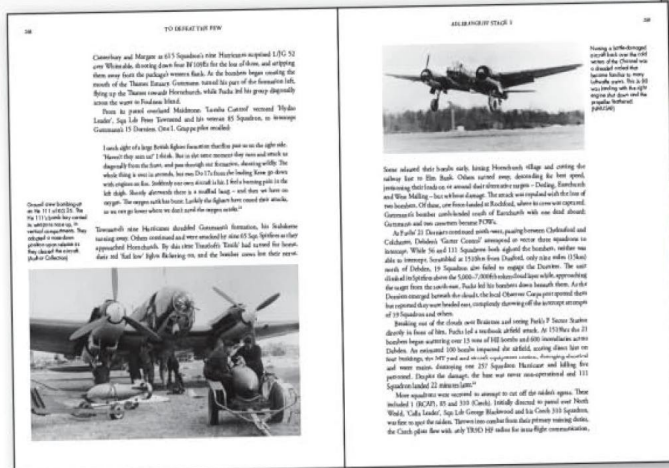
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